

VIRILE PALESTINIAN SEMITE

Exotic looks & curly hair. Seeks Jewish lady (any race) 4 LTR in Israel. I love history, Arabic cuisine & skinny dipping in lake Tiberias. ☎ 989

VOLUPTUOUS LATINA

Pretty 28 yr old, earthy, funny, sweet, seeks successful financially secure gentleman 30-45 who knows how to treat & pomper a lady. Drug/disease free. No psychos. ☎ 965

YOU CLAIMED OUR FALAFEL

olives, oranges, music, houses as yours. ME: the REAL SEMITE fun, sexy, Palestinian gol. I need you to get me home. WANTED: a Jewish lady who loves me. ☎ 989

YOU STOLE THE LAND.

MAY AS WELL TAKE THE WOMEN! Redhead Palestinian ready to be colonized by your army. You: Jewish, Hot, Strong. U take me home + I'll let you win. ☎ 9833

YOUNG FUN PETITE

ENJOY ONLY IF YOU SEEK SUGAR DADDY. ☎ 991

Young Palestinian Semite, M.

35, educ., successful career, seeking Jewish female (any race) for long intimate relation to live in Israel. Only serious people. ☎ 9705

MEN SEEKING WOMEN

1 OPENMINDED, CONSCIOUS

smart, creative, spiritually & physically beautiful F of color (20-35) sought by 33yo Black artist in Brooklyn for extraordinary relationship. ☎ 95129512

25 yr old athletic, endowed SWM

ISO extremely busty mistress I'm toned, cute, curious, interesting. I appreciate all races, shapes, positive. ☎ 9957

27 YO GOODLOOKING WM WITH SMOOTH BODY SEEKS FEMALE WITH SEXY LARGE BOTTOM, WHO LOVES TO EXHIBIT HER LARGE BOTTOM. I WILL BE GENEROUS. ☎ 9707

40yo goodlooking businessman, world traveler, looking forward to meet you, the beautiful, full of life, easygoing white woman, ages 25-30. For relationship, fun, friendship & maybe more. ☎ 9885

BI F WANTED

Bi MWM, 6' handsome biz exec sks F for sensual ritnshp & willing to teach. Will make you v. happy. ☎ 9719

BIG IS BEAUTIFUL

Wanted; Large, lovely, big, buxom, full figured F. I'm WM 40s, 6' handsome business exec for sensual discreet relationship. ☎ 9706

BISEXUAL OR BICURIOS LADY

18-38, attractive, slim, non-smoker, 10m 212 or 718 sought by SWM, handsome, tall, slim, intell & romantic gentleman. Na men. ☎ 9947

BLACK FEMALE PREFERRED

Blue eyed male (39) sane & reliable, sks friend, shorp-minded/warm-hearted to match wifs, create sparks. Serious & sensual fun. ☎ 9909

BLACK PRINCESS

Italian, toned, muscular & romantic, (40, 5'9 175) into boxing, & a musician. ISO very attractive, inshape true beauty (25-30) for passionate friendship, possibly more. ☎ 9661

Busy lawyer seeks

German speaking frau, early to mid 30's, intellectual type to enjoy NYC & each other. Skier, hiker, swimmer, artist a plus. ☎ 9877

BUXOM BEAUTY

Tall, handsome, successful SWM, 42. Seeks attractive, buxom SF for travel, dining, romance, and fun-filled relationship. ☎ 9724

CLASS ACT

TALL, HANDSOME, SWM 46 SEEKS ATTRACTIVE, ADVENTUROUS SINGLE FEMALE FOR FUN, DINING, TRAVEL & ROMANCE. ☎ 9678

DUSKY JEWEL Sexy loveable WM non-smkr, 52, 5'7, physically fit, handsome, intell, sincere, many interests. ISO loveable, caring BF 40-55, shapely, voluptuous figure for magical romance/LTR. ☎ 9852

DWM 47

brown/blue, Irish/Cherokee, 5'11 185 lbs. Hardworking house owner on LI. Seeking a average looking woman, 29-50, race unimportant for longterm relationship. ☎ 9684

slim-average, NS, my age or younger w/no kids or pets, for LTR. ☎ 952

Italian or Latin Beauty Sought Very handsome Ital Mole 42, intell, romantic, great sense of humor, loves music, European travel & quiet evenings. Single & v. pretty, ready for a lifetime relation. ☎ 9952

Leggy Palestinian Semite seeks Jewish hunk to create our love-shock settlement in Tiberias. Let's take turns with hummer as body paint and... ☎ 9950

Like to share pop culture at its best/ trashiest, foreign movies, 33 RPM film noir, discoveries in "High" & "Low" entertainment? SWM 37, seeks kindred spirit, SF 26-41, closet bohemian, for LTR. ☎ 9740

LOOK NO FURTHER

Handsome successful SBM 37, romantic & fun loving sks attractive SF of any race for friendship & possible romance. Call me now, you won't be disappointed. ☎ 9943

Looking for love

SWM 44yo, Bus driver, work nights, from 4pm-10m, hoping to meet you. ☎ 9787

MARRIAGE MINDED

Prof'l DWM retired from Wall St. Grt shope, financially secure, looking to shore in an equal relationship w/a woman who is fit & has humor 25+ Race unimportant. ☎ 9531

MARRIED WM SEEKS MARRIED WF Jewish, young 60's, ISO intimate, sincere, loving & durable relationship To fill the empty part of our lives. We are discreet, honest, respectful & decent people, I found the courage to place this ad; your respond will make it worthwhile. ☎ 9863



Aquarius

MEET YOUR MATCH HERE!!! JUST ADD AN IMAGE TO YOUR AD AND WATCH FOR THE RESULTS!!! Call the Classified Dept Call 212-475-5555, press 1

MWM successful professional

seeking Jewish M (any race) for LTR in Israel w/long steamy nites in... ☎ 961486

SHORT TERM FOR LATIN 41 Single Male, blk hair/brwn eyes, always busy. Seeking 24-35yo, Latina for friends. ☎ 9861

SINGLE AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALE 4-YEAROLD FROM NORTH JERSEY SEARCHING FOR A SINGLE AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALE AGE 20-25 HONEST AND SINCERE WHO CAN STAND IMAGE DONT MATTER ☎ 9624

SM Palestinian muslim (semetic) ISO SJF (any race) for LTR in Israel, protes, handsome, intuitive & loving be my lady and... ☎ 9651

Smart, Witty & Self-deprecating cute Taurus 29 seeks fun and affectionate F 18-32 for romance+ Info Ravel Fellini, Bonnard, theater, clubbing, riding, surfing ☎ 9652

SOMEONE SPECIAL

SBM, seeks passionate, easy-going, mature, true woman of substance. Good looks a+. Warm heart a treasure. White or Hispanic. % 9634

Successful, independent, gdllg middle age blind man, white, 5'8 tall, 165lbs, educ., supportive, D/D Free seeks a full amazon-type woman, large hands & feet, friendly w/sense of fun & companionship ☎ 9783

SWINGCLUB PARTNER WANTED

SWM, 45, 5'10", attractive, passionate sks SWF, attractive, open-minded to join me as a swing club partner. ☎ 9926

SWJM 27 Slim Attract Cute

Listens to new wave/rock music, Seeks SF, 19-26, for respectively, good time-possible relationship. ☎ 9689

SWM, 35, handsome w/eclectic tastes sks attractive Female interested in strong interpersonal relationship, fun, erotic adventure including more. ☎ 9500

SWM 36, 6', 175 ITALIAN, HANDSOME, great build sks very attractive slim sexy SBF for special times and possible relationship. You'll be glad you colled. ☎ 9486

SWM 38 seeks romantic F

slim, attractive, NS, my age or younger w/no kids or pets, for LTR. ☎ 952

BE MY VA You: distinguished Atricon-American satisfying. Me: polishing spare-tired slo Coll now!

Bi Black W by Bi WM Morrie handsome, sks or switchable f Don't be sh

Bi curious Very good looking discreet. Seeks Manhattan pref

Bi macho V Poyoff requires fun nant guys only. U more. Cooperat Serious ☎

Bi WM, dancer seeks old D & D free, with some cl

BIMWM 56, sal mustoch, 5'10, looking for more Your place. Seeking overage. LI/Qns

BiWM, 36, 6', 160 clean cut, prof' endowed Bi Male, safe, discreet h Manhattan apartm Morried ok

BiWM 44, 5'6, LEAN, MUSCULAR PECS. SEEKS WELL 60 FOR RE ENCOUNTERS. IN & MUSCULAR

CHUB WANT GJPM, 48, 5'7, spiritual, enjoy ba 230lbs+, under 60 life, no smk, diet

Cop wanted Married M seeks the same, ☎ 9

DIRECTOR SKS SINGER. GWM 53 free Dk Bland ISO

HOMELAND

home-coming

homeish
homeless

homelessness
homelike

home

homeling

homely

home base
bird, homebody
homeboy

home-bred

home-brew

Home Counties

home economics

home

†homely

homefolks

home-felt

homegirl

homelyn

home guard

homeobox

homeland

home-leave

language

home-made

home-maker

home movie:

Home Office

home-owner
home perm

homeothermic
homer

bring oneself home

home rule

bring (something) home to
call home

come home to

Homeric

come short home

go home

to write home about

HOMELAND

May 23 – June 29, 2003

WHITNEY

Whitney Museum of American Art
Independent Study Program Exhibition
at The Art Gallery of The Graduate Center
The City University of New York

This brochure accompanies the exhibition *Homeland*, organized by the 2002–03 Helena Rubinstein Curatorial Fellows of the Whitney Museum of American Art Independent Study Program: Craig Buckley, Tanya Leighton, Sara Reisman, Emily Rothschild, and Nat Trotman.

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OLAV WESTPHALEN *Statue*, 2003. INSET: detail

INTRODUCTION

Homeland communities, homeland survival kits, homeland health, homeland security: the term *homeland* has acquired unprecedented currency since the events of September 11, 2001. Yet despite its circulation in American political and popular discourse, most notably in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security in late 2002, the exact meaning of the word remains difficult to pinpoint. The term triggers associations with political circumstances as distinct as the bantustans created under apartheid in South Africa and the German notion of *Heimat* and its relation to fascism. It also figures prominently in the Palestinian/Israeli conflicts as it is invoked in both sides' land claims. As a response to the new rhetoric and legislation of this term, *Homeland* brings together works made just prior to the 1991 Gulf War, through September 11, and up to the recent invasion of Iraq by military forces led by the United States. Together these works critically examine the slippery connotations of *homeland* as mobilized by the Bush administration, raising questions about belonging and exile and investigating the relationships between nationalism and territory. In the process they draw attention to shifting geopolitical spaces and the cultural contradictions and differences that shape them.

Given the wide semantic range of *homeland*, the following essays attempt to bring key theoretical constellations into view and to provide entry points into the exhibition. Emily Rothschild addresses artists who manipulate and rearrange media images as they reference strategies that shape politics and form public understandings of the notion of homeland. Tanya Leighton discusses the work of artists who challenge totalizing ideologies like homeland, rendering them uncertain while questioning ideas of community and ways of belonging. Assembling contributions that include images, personal statements, and selected texts, Sara Reisman outlines how participating artists understand *homeland* and, in many cases, how their works speak to the complexities of homeland politics. Nat Trotman explores the roles information technologies play in homeland's constitution and perpetuation, highlighting works that place the individual within them. Considering several works located in the public sphere, Craig Buckley suggests ways idiosyncratic modes of address can alter the foreclosing effects produced by the term *homeland*. The catalogue also includes a timeline chronicling significant intersections between political events and the use of the term *homeland* through the twentieth century and up to the present.

This exhibition maintains that the conception of homeland cannot be simply extracted from its political and social contexts. The term's significance within indigenous struggles for territorial recognition, for instance, cannot be equated with its appearance in United States domestic policy, where the implications of its new use are still unfolding. In particular the contested spaces of the Middle East, where definitions of homeland and the rights to its control are being violently negotiated, cannot be ignored. Drawing on the scope of the term itself, the works presented in this exhibition question and further complicate the notion of homeland at this time of war and increasing threats to civil liberties.

HOMELAND DELIVERY

EMILY ROTHSCHILD

*When our identity is in danger, we feel certain that we have a mandate for war.
The old image must be recovered at any cost.*

– Marshall McLuhan¹

Homeland is symptomatic of our immediate moment, representing a shift in American public address and political policy. With a long history of reference outside of the United States, *homeland* exists in American politics as an abstract concept that emerged to frame and identify a multitude of tensions and conflicting relations in our post-9/11 world.² As an ideological device, *homeland* defines its limits by identifying and excluding the “other”; by making such claims about citizen and outsider, it reveals itself as isolationist discourse. Its introduction signals a crisis of national identity currently being redefined within a global arena of war and terrorism.

In spite of the media’s daily invocations, *homeland* remains an ill-defined concept with elusive political undertones while, in this moment of war, it becomes ever more pervasive and contentious. We face a deluge of shifting representations of *homeland* through the popular press, news photography, television, and similar sources. Illuminating the suggestive and experiential quality of *homeland* as well as the ambiguous politics implied by the term, artists Francesco Simeti, Daniel Pflumm, Jonathan Horowitz, and Annette Lemieux appropriate media images, juxtapose disparate situations, and manipulate visual forms as they reference media strategies that sponsor *homeland* and fabricate an illusion of unity.

Simeti, Pflumm, Horowitz, and Lemieux address the condition of living within a culture dominated by a constant stream of media photographs, news programs, talking heads, journalism “from the field,” and celebrity gossip. They raise questions about the distortion of the visible in the media: What we see is not necessarily what we get. Riddling the surge of coverage of the war in Iraq and the question of homeland security (American and Iraqi) are frequent gaps in narrative and a lack of contiguity: “the symptom against which we lash out may quite likely be caused by something about which we know nothing.”³ The images we’re shown have been strategically selected, positioned, and often endlessly repeated, making it easy to lose sight of their individual meanings and to mistake these few pictures as a representative sampling of the larger whole. Our comprehension of the significance of the information proffered to us hinges on our understanding the process by which it is presented.

Are You Ready? (2003), a wallpaper project by Italian artist Francesco Simeti, mines the abundance of photographs of victims of wars and national conflicts circulating in the media.

FRANCESCO SIMETI *Are You Ready?*, 2003 (installation detail)

Simeti appropriates and rearranges images of refugees culled over the last eight years from newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *La Repubblica*. From a distance, *Are You Ready?* looks like a decorative, abstract household pattern. Upon closer inspection it becomes clear that the work is a repeating collage of several dozen images of people: men and women of all ages running, hauling their belongings on their backs, and carrying their children in their arms. These refugees fleeing their homelands are representative of the conflicts of the last decade that have caused the displacement of peoples throughout the world: Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Chiapas, Kosovo, Palestine, Rwanda, and other places.⁴ By layering these images on top of one another Simeti creates a unified wall of figures, their repetition suppressing any appearance of difference.

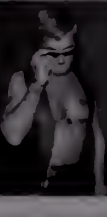
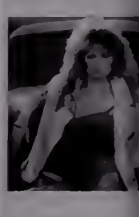
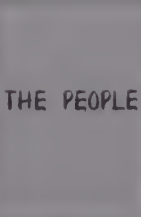
The cool, soft shades of the two-toned silkscreen create an atmosphere of comfort and belonging. By highlighting the image of the homeless refugee on household wallpaper, however, Simeti is challenging what it means to take comfort in the home. Infinite and omnipresent, the media photographs that inundate us function as a sort of wallpaper; they become merely decorative backdrops to our everyday lives. These images desensitize us by sheer reiteration to the individual stories they tell, and though they confront us daily, we are unable to connect them with real experience. Surrounding the viewer, Simeti's wallpaper format produces a physical environment that forcibly brings us into the situations that media images fail to make real. It is not until the threat of terror and war enters our homes (and homelands) that we begin to understand that we risk being in the same situation. Are we ready to face what millions of others around the world are facing now?

In contrast to Simeti's still images, Daniel Pflumm addresses the abundance of televised information broadcast into our homes. For his 33-minute video *CNN, Questions and Answers* (1997), Pflumm amassed six short excerpts from CNN newscasts in which an interviewer and correspondent, shown on either side of a divided screen, field live calls from Switzerland, Israel, Germany, and Thailand. However, no discussion takes place. Instead, Pflumm capitalizes on silences gleaned from lulls in the conversation. These stolen moments are edited together to create repeating tenths of a second during which the "talking heads" blink, nod, and shrug their shoulders to an accompanying electronic techno beat.⁵ The effect is both mechanical and rhythmic. Freed from the cycle of question and answer, the correspondents respond instead to the pulse of the music; dialogue has been replaced by metrical nods and dancing eyes.

The aesthetic of repetition in *CNN, Questions and Answers* calls attention to the never-ending transmission of information and the ubiquity of media symbols in American culture today. By means of the simple manipulation, fragmenting information and emphasizing the constancy of the CNN logo, Pflumm deconstructs the sensory experience of broadcast news. He exposes the flood of stimuli that often overpower mass communication's presentation of political dialogue and deplete its meaning. Like the notion of *homeland*, Pflumm's video is at once ambient, repetitive, hollow, and transfixing. The news is saturated with images, symbols, and catchphrases (such as *homeland*) that brand the everyday. When we scan daily broadcasts



DANIEL PFLUMM still from *CNN, Questions and Answers*, 1997



THE PEOPLE

without digesting or challenging the information provided, watching the evening news becomes more a ritual behavior than an effective means of gaining knowledge, as we nod, blink, and shrug to the media's insistent tempo.

Jonathan Horowitz's *The People (35 Celebrity Endorsers of George W. Bush Downloaded from the Internet)* (2001) addresses the pervasive role of celebrity culture in America. The work consists of thirty-five framed color digital prints of headshots, trading cards, album covers, and magazine photographs of celebrities who were major donors to George W. Bush's presidential campaign. Arranged in a nonhierarchical grid, this portrait gallery maintains a Warholian effect in its flat, Pop-like presentation. The commercialized photographs, all taken from the Internet, depict these actors, musicians, and athletes in iconic, staged poses. We see a laughing Kelsey Grammer, a young Rick Schroder, Jim Kelly of the Buffalo Bills in mid-pass, Arnold Schwarzenegger in black leather and sunglasses. A few of the celebrities stand triumphantly before the American flag.

The culture of celebrity represents a striking aspect of homeland in America. So much is known about these public figures that their lives are virtually integrated with our own. Their lives and careers, but not their politics, are made public by the media. Indeed, the culture of celebrity is typically portrayed as a depoliticized front; however, the thread that connects this group is precisely the political party that they support in common. Through appropriation, repetition, and display Horowitz has created a community of Bush supporters. His satirical presentation of this group as an earnest constituency, the sponsors of those who champion homeland, addresses the significant role that these public figures play in statecraft. Drawing attention to the potential economic corruption behind politics, *The People* calls into question our diminished individual role in the democratic process, especially in light of the 2000 presidential elections.

Conflicting political bodies, both within the homeland and outside, occupy Annette Lemieux's installation *Left Right Left Right* (1995). Thirty photolithographs of enlarged fragments of historical photographs from the 1930s through the early 1970s, culled by the artist from various journalistic sources and mounted on maple poles, depict hands raised in ambiguous declaration. Exhibited propped up against the gallery wall, these signs read as placards documenting a protest that is either about to begin or has just ended. At first glance they strike a tone of accord with each other, yet scrutiny reveals that they represent multiple, even directly opposing, political positions.

While each image is cropped so as to foreground the hands, Lemieux deliberately leaves recognizable remnants of the settings in which these photographs were taken. Our eyes are drawn into each image in an attempt to identify each isolated hand within its particular historical context.⁶ Several appear to be from political rallies for Martin Luther King, Jr., Robert Kennedy, and Richard Nixon; one gives us a glimpse of a young woman at Woodstock; others include a

priest in Ireland and a Miss America Pageant contestant.⁷ Although the information provided does not allow us to definitively place these gestures in history, we can discern that the images have been taken from a broad spectrum of political positions and represent a wide range of human emotions. As the work's title suggests, we are faced with both the left and right sides of political debate; what initially appears to be a cohesive whole actually comprises many layers of opposition and discord.

Lemieux's interest is the role that history plays in shaping present-day political, national, and personal identities. *Left Right Left Right* uses the past to contextualize the present, re-presenting images of timeless gestures in order to illustrate how these histories fit within and have led us to our current political climate.⁸ During the second Gulf War we have been confronted by widespread media portrayals of mass protest unlike any since the Vietnam era. The collective stance of protest creates the illusion of unity and patriotism; in actuality, it signals global unrest and dissonance in the face of war.

Media strategies are formative in shaping politics and public understandings of the notion of homeland. By means of simple manipulations of found images Simeti, Pflumm, Horowitz, and Lemieux alter our perception of visually acquired information. They offer assemblages of media images that confront the challenge Americans face: Where do we position ourselves within this highly mediated public sphere? The notion of homeland and the culture of war (and their accompanying iconographies) have entered our homes and infiltrated our lives. Within this climate of terrorism and war, *homeland* remains vague and complicated. We begin to understand it as an elusive construct that surfaced in American public address as a device to establish a sense of comfort and security; however, the rhetoric of *homeland* actually indicates a national identity in question: Who qualifies as an American, whose safety will be secured, and at what cost? The term serves as a media slogan to excuse the displacement of peoples, the denial of civil liberties, and the act of war.

1. Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore, and Jerome Agel, *War and Peace in the Global Village* (Corte Madera, California: Gingko Press, 2001), 97.

2. William Safire, "On Language: Homeland," *New York Times*, 20 January 2002, p. 12. See also the Introduction and the Timeline in this volume.

3. McLuhan, Fiore, and Agel, 97.

4. Email communication with Francesco Simeti, 7 March 2003.

5. Jan Verwoert, "Logo Rhythm: Jan Verwoert on Daniel Pflumm," *Frieze: Contemporary Art and Culture* 50 (February 2000): 80–83. Berlin-based artist Daniel Pflumm runs the dance-music label Elektro Music Department in collaboration with DJs Klaus Kotai and Gabriele "Mo" Loschelder, and first exhibited his videos in nightclubs.

6. David Moos, "Annette Lemieux: The Evidentiary," in *Time to Go* (Modena, Italy: Emilio Mazzoli Galleria d'arte Contemporanea, 1994), 14.

7. Telephone conversation with Annette Lemieux, 12 March 2003.

8. Moos, 15.



ANNETTE LEMIEUX *Left Right Left Right*, 1995 (installation view)



HANS HAACKE *Storm*, 1991

COMING TO HOMELAND

TANYA LEIGHTON

This seeking for my home...was my affliction....Where is—my home? I ask and seek and have sought for it; I have not found it.

—Walter Benjamin in exile, quoting Nietzsche, 1939¹

The recent inscription of *homeland* in the vocabulary of the nation is an event containing an unfathomable depth of tacit violence toward the multitude of “nations” living within its borders. The constitution of *homeland* is a *projective* ideology,² a political and cultural imperative that convenes an exclusionary community in relation to world events, trauma, terrorism, and war, in search of a common destiny. It rapidly draws an absolute picture that represents an essentialist urge to occupy the “home” and obliterate all difference and social contradiction necessarily inherent in a country that emerged from immigration. While the word is there for all to see in the press and in the language of the administration, the ever-present substrate of the term is invisible, planted in the symbolic order to germinate silently in the people. It exists, not as an awakening to a menacing world order, but as a sedative, a dangerous split to any possible community. The ideological effects of *homeland* are partial, connected to narrow interests seeking to win consent and legitimacy for themselves. Ideology works because it appears to ground itself in the very surface of things, repressing any recognition of contingency of the historical circumstances upon which all social interaction depends. Should we defend *homeland* or reject it? Whose *homeland* is it? Do we belong? Who has rights and privilege within it? How can we frame a form of belonging that sustains contingency or potentiality? Works by Ayreen Anastas, Matthew Buckingham, and Hans Haacke face these questions as they articulate challenges to the assumed shape of *homeland*, destabilizing its authority and complicating the notion of social totalities and the myth of a unitary subject. Their works demonstrate that *homeland* is a paradoxical and complex term; it is neither natural nor unbiased nor neutral. Diagnosing and unfixing its “symptom-totality” here and now is an ethico-political and aesthetic project that entails tracing its limits, curbing *homeland*’s homogenizing power, fracturing its monolithic presence. But rejection is never enough: just as memory cannot be confined to the past, so *homeland* has to be continually reformulated and rearticulated. The task before us is to devise strategies that can serve as a genuine counterpoint to the imminent closure of such an overwhelming narrative, where the issue of identification needs to always remain an open, impossibly difficult problem, one that needs to be constantly revisited. These practices seek to ask not what role *homeland* plays in consensus-formation and in the constitution of a civility (the ethical horizon),³ but in what conditions and within which limits it may do so.

Hans Haacke’s installation *Storm* (1991), created in response to the nationalist fervor in the United States around the time of the first Gulf War, comprises a wrecked, three-wheeled shopping cart that contains a number of frenetically waving motorized American flags. The title refers

to Desert Storm—the code name for the 1991 liberation of Kuwait by an American-led U.N. force. Haacke's work depends on a juxtaposition of globally recognized symbols of homeland (the American flags) with distinctively American signs of homelessness (the old shopping cart as “home”). This straightforward arrangement succinctly sums up the contradictions of United States political aims and the effects of the contemporary ideological formulation, as the work addresses the first Gulf War and draws it into dialogue with homelessness at home, in the midst of homeland fervor. In contrast to the cheap patriotism, signified in the fluttering flags, that supported the political ambitions of the United States's government on a “global” scale, the shopping cart refers to the obscured domestic issue of homelessness. The wave of *amor patriae* triggered by Desert Storm was mirrored by soaring popularity ratings for then-president George Bush. Despite pressing domestic problems epitomized by a homeless population estimated around sixty thousand in New York City alone, the Bush administration rallied unquestioning widespread allegiance, easily legitimizing its policies and justifying the moral consequences of its actions under a blanket of patriotism.

Haacke's cart is on the one hand an image of the supermarket, a signifier of abundance, consumerism, and excess. As part of the culture of the automobile, of freeways and shopping malls, it is inextricably connected with the nation's dependence on gasoline. The piece is aligned therefore with the notion that the Gulf War was deeply implicated in fulfilling this demand. On the other hand, it poses a question concerning the status, or rather the non-status, of the individual who would be pushing it. The multiple waving flags point to a collective, univocal allegiance to the symbols of the nation: they indirectly make apparent the invisibility of homelessness. Like a curtain that covers all anomalies of public life, including the fact of homelessness itself, the flags offer an image of a homogenous America. The oblique representation of a strident group of flag-waving citizens contrasts with the permanent invisibility of the unaddressed, of the individual whose existence disturbs and endangers the explicit frontier between the private and the public spheres. The anonymous homeless figure is clearly not interpellated by the address of the patriotic crowd. His/her identity is rooted in the very fact of existing outside of a culture that defines itself through consumption. The containment of the flapping signs of patriotism within the shopping cart of “homelessness” may also pose a paradoxical question, which asks, on a more philosophical level, how to unfix the concept of homeland, how to ensure, so to speak, the “homelessness” of homeland. In other words, how can one sustain “the ungrounded ‘ground’ of the political signifier as a site of rearticulation?”⁴ This piece acquires a new potency in the *Homeland* exhibition; its proximity to “Showdown Iraq” and the U.S. military operation Operation Iraqi Freedom casts its meaning in another dimension, that of an eternal return of the same.

In contrast to the singular symbolic gesture of Haacke's work, Anastas's *m* of Bethlehem*⁵ and Buckingham's *The Six Grandfathers* adopt more diverse strategies of signification. Whereas *Storm* is directly confrontational in its dependence on fixed collective references, both Anastas and Buckingham use strategies of unfixing signification, striving to open a space for reinterpretation where the meanings of sites and symbols can be reevaluated. Ayreen Anastas's video *m* of Bethlehem* (2003) explores problems of nationalism and belonging within the context of



Palestine, underscoring a relation to *homeland* lived under occupation and geopolitical displacement. A series of static, fragmentary scenes of everyday life in Bethlehem—streets after curfew, olive trees bearing signs warning of the imminent confiscation of land, encroaching Israeli settlements, a refugee camp, people going about their daily activities—is accompanied by ambient sounds of the city and a voice-over by the artist. We hear a constellation of definitions from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a chain of metonymic terms that poetically invoke the notions of mapping, territory, history, and loss. Exiled definitions are separated from their original context. Considered too rigid, too monumental to adequately signify, the root words they originally described are hidden, retired; a process of disorientation follows as new associations are generated and other meanings are brought into play.

Drawing a map of Bethlehem in words—words chosen simply for the associations “that come to mind when the word *Bethlehem* comes to mind”—Anastas dislodges and expands its meaning. Bethlehem’s former name, we are told, can be traced back to *Oslo*, the capital of Norway. Bethlehem stands for *The bell itself; the time of its ringing; the practice of ringing a bell at a fixed hour each evening (for any purpose)*. Or *The rights, privileges, or possessions belonging to one by birth, as an eldest son, as being born in a certain status or country, or as a human being*. Associations proliferate, yet the mystery is never revealed—we are caught in a small game of



ABOVE: **AYREEN ANASTAS** still from *m** of Bethlehem, 2003. BELOW: detail from 1970 map of Bethlehem

illogical logic. Presented with an image of a monumentally large settlement, we hear: *A malignant tumor or growth of body tissue that tends to spread and may recur if removed. Destroy as if by the exclusion of air.* We can only imagine the words whose meanings she extracts: *Christiana, peace accord, curfew, birthright, refuge, memory, cry, confine, right, militia, ghetto, demography, segregation, cancer, pain...*? And so Anastas's voice-over continues, exploding Bethlehem's meaning, amplifying and defusing an array of emotions.

Anastas's conception of the work began after a visit to the map division of the New York Public Library, as she thought about what was represented on a map of Bethlehem from 1970 and what was missing. The map included, in the words of the artist: "our house, my grandmother's house, the Nativity, Saint Joseph school, both parts, uptown and downtown. Terra Santa school, the long zigzag building. The Carmelites nunnery, the French hospital, the Armenian convent, Omar mosque, the Latin convent, a road indicating to Solomon's pools—David's wells and the tomb of Rachel." The refugee camps, although they existed at the time, were not depicted. Also absent (as they did not exist in 1970) were the checkpoints and the "armed" settlements. Noticeable as well was what had been destroyed in the intervening years—the police station was demolished and replaced by a peace center—and what had changed use: the Palestinian Authority's headquarters, struck by missiles at the time of the invasion in April 2002, had once been used by the Jordanians and was later the Israeli military governor's headquarters.

The video takes the form of a Situationist derive: a technique of psychogeography, an informed and aware wandering, with continuous observation, that can be sought and can lead anywhere. Anastas navigates a territory (the "actual"/Bethlehem) with the map of another territory (the "represented"/the map). Reflecting on the very notion of mapping, this partial video-map emphasizes the disjunction between representations and experiential realities and underscores the discursive battle at stake in the conflict in Palestine. The map, like such terms circulating in the media as *settlements* or *occupied territories*, is part of a discourse of oppression or emancipation: it is the territory. *m* of Bethlehem* builds not a synthesis nor a totality but a dislocation; it breaks open a mental space where both text and image can reside—an *in-between* space somewhere between the map, its video representation and its meaning. The work reflects on how individuals exist in a codified system of language and symbols. It also suggests that the relations between various aspects of society, between "real" (social) and "true" (mental) spaces, practice and theory, lived experience and concepts are not separated, where the spaces created by "manipulators of consciousness" are neither hidden nor misunderstood.* *m* of Bethlehem* subscribes to the notion that we are multiple subjects, contradictory inhabitants of diverse communities and geographical demarcations, with conflicting political realities; that we are constructed by a variety of discourses, which are precariously and temporarily sutured, as political theorist Chantal Mouffe would say, at the intersection of those subject positions. These positions entail, in their turn, the formation of universalities that are necessarily particular. What is at stake then, in a critique of a concept like homeland, is a new articulation of the universal and the particular and not a mere rejection of the universal.

While community needs to be tempered with consensus, it also requires an understanding of contingency. Like Anastas's and Haacke's work, Matthew Buckingham's recent project *The Six Grandfathers, Paha Sapa, in the Year 502,002 C.E.* (2002 and 2003) introduces contingency into the significance produced by historical and cultural sites and symbols. *The Six Grandfathers* considers the past and present conditions of one of America's most treasured national monuments and symbols of patriotism—Mount Rushmore. Located near the geographic center of the United States, in Paha Sapa, or the Black Hills, the monument memorializes the birth, growth, preservation, and development of the United States of America, the massive portraits of four American presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Roosevelt, and Lincoln—carved into the granite of the mountain that the Sioux people called Six Grandfathers. Buckingham's project reveals the ambiguity of Mount Rushmore's iconic status and critically addresses the United States's policies toward those living within its borders—particularly Native Americans. Imagining the monument's distant future, the work comprises a black-and-white photograph of Mount Rushmore that the artist has digitally altered to portray its appearance five hundred thousand years from now. The result sustains a tension between fantasy and its realization as the four presidential heads are erased and the mountain is seen outlasting the chips and scratches inflicted by carvers. The banality of the photographic image could not be more significant. By transferring current anxieties about democracy and belonging onto a projected future landscape, Buckingham assesses Mount Rushmore as a problematic cultural, political, and social symbol that needs to be more clearly interpreted and contested. Buckingham imagines the symbol's inevitable failure, stemming from the mountain's slow erosion, as he addresses the irony of its return to a more or less natural state.

The underlying meanings of Mount Rushmore are not easily relinquished, whereas the associations it imparts are too often taken for granted, or interpreted purely symbolically or as patriotic kitsch. On the wall, adjacent and continuous to the photograph, Buckingham presents a timeline; a complicated nexus of information, the chronological re-mapping exposes some of the hidden and not-so-hidden details of Mount Rushmore's contested history. By unraveling suppressed or distorted accounts of violent conflicts between disparate figures from the past and the present, Buckingham offers a panoramic view of the paradoxes that such sites and symbols generate, and of our role in assessing and reevaluating their meaning. It is telling, for instance, that the Shrine of Democracy—as Rushmore was officially designated—was carved out of sacred land taken illegally from the Sioux by an artist who had been a secret but active member of the Ku Klux Klan. *The Six Grandfathers* mirrors Anastas's take on the simultaneously palpable and epistemic violence of the "settlements" in Palestine. And like Haacke, Buckingham urges us to reject the memorialization of the "victorious" past as the staging of a universal common history and to resist collective amnesia. Sites of memory and landscapes of political power are stories without ending: the scripting of memory by those in power can always be challenged. Occasionally there are moments of possibility: openings to potentiality and in recognition of the contingency of political community. *The Six Grandfathers* is an aesthetic protest that seeks to reclaim memories and rewrite them as a form of resistance.

Reading Buckingham's project on the long history of relations between the United States government and the indigenous people of North America in light of the current situation offers an important critical perspective on the new rhetoric and legislation of *homeland*. It addresses how the profile of a certain ideology is engraved into our collective conscience, how it is literally petrified to the point at which its presence is falsely fixed and, made to stand too high, appearing too fundamental, therefore unable to be addressed. *The Six Grandfathers* engages questions and problems of sovereignty and democracy that have always been central to United States political debate, while underscoring the urgency that the discussion of these concepts has recently acquired.

Claude Lefort suggests that democracy stays alive only as long as its meaning in society is uncertain and therefore open to question; only when its substantive common good is erased can it be brought into contestation. Addressing what he calls

"an empty space," expropriated of all identities, where power in society is empty, separated from law and knowledge, we might ask, What if this empty space were already a community, one without any essence or any precondition of belonging? Can we conceive of an empty imaginary space "reserved," but never occupied, for a community inconceivable according to any representable condition of belonging, without identity, "*defined by nothing other than its existence in language as irreducible, absolute potentiality*"?' Giorgio Agamben's profile of such a community in his book *The Coming Community* is a way to read the intentions of the works discussed here. Anastas, Buckingham, and Haacke underscore the need to permanently *unfix* thought, toward an infinite, persistent reorganization of a political aesthetic practice. Their works refuse, fragment, or problematize the foundations of knowledge production—to promote attention to that which has



MATTHEW BUCKINGHAM *The Six Grandfathers, Paha Sapa, in the Year 502,002 C.E., 2002 and 2003* (detail)

been made invisible either by distance or exclusion, and in order to present the contingency or lack in every discursive formation. They unpack the linguistic, representational, and symbolic registers upon which social totalities, political affiliations, and solidarities are constructed, in order to complicate the reception and performance of these registers. By engaging social memory (and collective amnesia), re-activating the force of the past in the present, they reveal our current existence in language. Anastas's, Buckingham's, and Haacke's works address a notion of homeland as an ideological construction that suppresses social antagonism (in the sense that Mouffe refers to it) for an account of an organic, unified social order. From the continual existence of contradiction in *Storm*, to the play of different practices of narrative in *m* of Bethlehem*, to the staging of historical paradoxes in *The Six Grandfathers*, these artists propose a society of agonisms (as Mouffe calls it) that opens the possibility of a political practice.⁸ When it comes to thinking about *homeland*, the task at hand may be articulated not as replacing one totality with another—in an equally violent, exceptionalist grab for power, reducing democratic representation to a particular demand (to a given identity)—but instead as engaging totality in a circuitous open-ended operation.⁹ Contingency is a domain of potentiality, and a space for the unfolding of creative engagements, an enlarged political field. That *things could be otherwise* is the positive implication of contingency and the sign of political possibility. How might a local politics participate in constructing a new idea of community that erodes the hegemony of totalities like *homeland*? In this sense Agamben's take on the Tiananmen massacre is inspiring. He describes a coming community, not defined by a "homeland" or any other sense of identity, nor tied to any common property, other than by purely *being called*.¹⁰ The notion of a community as a kind of linguistic belonging (or linguistic belonging as the very notion of a community)—an empty totality—points to the very groundlessness of identity and to its inherent ambiguity. This groundlessness establishes all possible belongings (*being-called-American*, *-Native-American*, *-Palestinian*)—and is also what can bring them all radically back into question.

1. Quoted in T.J. Demos, "Duchamp's *Boîte-en-valise*: Between Institutional Acculturation and Geopolitical Displacement," *Grey Room* 08 (Summer 2002): 9.

2. I am borrowing this phrase from Étienne Balibar, "Ambiguous Universality," in *Politics and the Other Scene*, trans. Christine Jones, et al. (London: Verso, 2002), 58.

3. Balibar, "Three Concepts of Politics: Emancipation, Transformation, Civility," in *Politics and the Other Scene*, 2.

4. Judith Butler, "Arguing with the Real," in *Bodies That Matter* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 195.

5. "** map, meaning, and more*." Email communication with Ayreen Anastas, 26 March 2003.

6. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 94–95.

7. Daniel Heller-Roazen, Editor's Introduction, to Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 23.

8. Mouffe suggests that the antagonisms that take place in the social realm are transformed into agonisms in the political realm—that is, from a struggle between enemies (antagonism) to a debate between adversaries (agonism). Chantal Mouffe, "For an Agonistic Public Sphere," in *Documenta 11_Platform 1, "Democracy Unrealized,"* (Kassel, Germany: Documenta and Museum Fridericianum-Veranstaltungen, 2002), 90.

9. Mouffe, "Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community," in *The Return of the Political* (London: Verso, 1993), 67–69.

10. Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 10, 85–87.

larger gun, fixed to a saddle or worn on a belt or under the arm. Also, any such case designed for convenient holding or carrying, esp. of a pithon hammer or ice axe in mountaineering. M17.

P CAMPBELL The bun of an immense gun stood out from the holster strapped to his side. Climber Tools are slid into holsters, overmitts removed and I pretend it's summer.

B v.t. Put (a pistol etc.) into a holster. Chiefly US. M20.

holt *hault* *n.* [OE *holt* = OFris., OS *hōlt*, MDu. *hout*, (O)HG *holz*, f. Gmc. f. IE base repr. by Gk *kladus* twig.] 1 A wood, a copse. Now *arch.* & *dial.* OE. b. a plantation, esp. of osiers *larch*. E17. 2 A wooded hill. M16.

hult *hault* *n.* LME. [Var. of *hold* n.] 1 Hold, grip. Now *dial.* & US colloq. LME. 2 The lair or den of an animal, esp. an otter or fish. L16.

holus-bolus *'həʊləs'həʊləs/* *adv.* Omg. *dial.* M19 [Origin uncertain: pseudo-L for 'whole bolus' or joc. repr. assumed Gk *holos* *bolos* whole lump (see *BOLUS*).] All in a lump, altogether.

Times An insurance company can be swallowed holus-bolus like a sprat by a hungry predator

'həʊlt/ *a.* & *n.* [OE *hālig*, -eg = OFris. *heilig*, OS *hēlig*, -eg, OHG *heilig* (Du., G. *heilig*), ON *heilagr*, f. Gmc. base of *WHOLE*.] A adj. 1 Of a thing, place, etc., kept or regarded as sacred, set apart for religious use or observance, consecrated. OE. 2 Of a god or icon: (to be) held in religious veneration or reverence, *spec.* in the Christian Church, free from all contamination of sin and evil, morally and spiritually perfect (cf. sense 4). OE. 3 (Of a person) (regarded as) specially belonging to, empowered by, or devoted to God, (of a thing) pertaining to, originating from, or sanctioned by God or the Trinity. Formerly also, (of a person) religiously devoted *to* (anything). OE. b. *gen.* Of surpassing excellence, having mysterious power. Also *w.* intensive force (*colloq.*), absolute, complete. L16. 4 Pious, devout, esp. of godly character and life, saintly, morally and spiritually clean, *colloq.* sanctimonious. OE. 5 Used *w.* fully *mackerell*, *holly* *Moses*, *holly* *smoke*, etc. M19.

1 G. VINAL The holy capital of the Middle Kingdom. 2 AV. Fr. 223 But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel. 3 S. MORLEY The players seemed to be regarding their work as a kind of holy calling. b. G. KEILLOR If any of his children had done it he would have given them holy hell. 4 JONATHAN ROSS She said again, in that holy voice, [etc.] *absol.* T. ARNOLD For a moment it must overwhelm the mind of the holiest

Special colloquialism & com. **holier-than-thou** *a.* *colloq.* self-righteous, characterized by an attitude of superior sanctity. *Hist.* An alliance formed between Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1815 on the basis of proposed common Christian principles of government: *holy* *basil* an Indian basil, *Cecum sanctum*, regarded by Hindus as sacred to Vishnu **holy bread** (a) the bread provided for the Eucharist, the bread consecrated in the Eucharist, (b) ordinary bread blessed and distributed after the Eucharist to non-communicants. *Holy Church* see *CHURCH* n. **Holy City** (a) a city held sacred by the adherents of a religion, esp. Jerusalem, (b) Heaven *Holy Communion* see *COMMUNION* s. **holy cross** the Cross on which Jesus died, *Holy Cross* the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, 14 September

the young Jesus with his mother and St Joseph often with St John Baptist, St Anne, etc.) as grouped in pictures etc. *Holy Father* see *FATHER* n. **holy fire** *crystal*. *Holy Grail* see *GRAIL* n. **holy grass** a fragrant grass, *Hieracium odorata*, which in Prussia was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and strewn on church floors. *Holy Innocent*: see *INNOCENT* n. **holy Joe** (ong *Naut. slang*) a clergyman; a pious person. *Holy Lamb* see *LAMB* n.

[*ur med L terra sancta*, *Fr la terre sainte*] *Palestine*, esp. Judaea, a region similarly revered in religions other than Christianity **holy laugh** a laugh by a person in a state of religious fervour. **holy loaf** (now rare) = *holy bread* above. **Holy Name** *RC* the name of Christ as an object of devotion *Abbot* Office *Hut* the Inquisition. *holy waters* see *ORDER* n. 2a *the outer chamber of the sanctuary in a synagogue, in pl., places to which religious pilgrimage is made* **holy roller** *slang* a member of a religious group characterized by frenzied excitement or trances *Holy Roman Empire* see *ROMAN* a. **Holy Rood** *arch.* (a representation of)

the Cross of Jesus, *Holy Rood Day*, (a) the festival of the Invention of the Cross, 3 May; (b) = *Holy Cross Day* above. **Holy Saturday** Saturday in Holy Week. *Holy Scripture* see *SCRIPTURE*. *Holy See* see *SFR* n. 1. 2b **holy souls** the blessed dead. **Holy Spirit** the third person of the Trinity; God as spiritually active, = *HOLY GHOST* 1; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: see *GOO* n. *holy terror* see *TERROR* n. 2b. **Holy Thursday** *Anglican Ch.* (arch. or *Hut*) Ascension Day; *RC Ch.* Maundy Thursday **holytide** *arch.* a holy day or season, a day or season of religious observance. **Holy Trinity** see *TRINITY* **holy war** waged in support of a religious cause. **Holy Week** [after *la semaine sainte*, *Fr la semaine sainte*] the week before Easter Sunday **holy Willie** a hypocritically religious person. **Holy Writ** see *WRIT* n. 1. **Holy White** see *WRITE* n. 1. **The Holy Sepulchre** see *SEPUCHRE* n. 1. **the holy table**: see *TABLE* n. 13(b).

B n. 1 That which is holy; a holy thing. OE. 2 A holy person, a saint. LME. M17.

1 **holy of holies** (a) Jewish *Antiq.* the inner chamber of the sanctuary in the Jewish Temple, separated by a veil from the outer chamber; (b) an innermost shrine, a thing regarded as most sacred

'həʊli det/ *n. phr* [OE *hālig dæg*, Cf. *HOLIDAY* n. & a.] A day consecrated or set apart for religious observance, usu. in commemoration of some sacred person or event, a religious festival. Cf. *HOLIDAY* n. 1

həʊli 'gaʊst *n. phr* [OE *se halga gāst*, *hālig gāst*, tr. eccl. l. *spiritus sanctus*.] 1 *Chr. Theol.* = *Holy Spirit* s.v. *spiritus sanctus*. OE. 2 A figure of a dove as a symbol of this. Long rare or obs. E16.

1 God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: see *GOO* n.

Comb. **Holy Ghost flower** or **plant** a tropical American orchid, *Persea elata*, so called because part of the flower is thought to resemble a dove, also called *dove-flower*

holystone *'həʊlɪstəʊn/* *n.* & *v.* E19 [Prob. f. *HOLY* a. + *STONE* n., perh. so called because used while kneeling.] A n. A piece of soft sandstone used for scouring the decks of ships. E19.

B v.t. Scour with a holystone. E19.

T. Mo. He is on a deck holystoned white as any man-of-war's

holy water *həʊli 'wɔ:tə/* *n. phr* [OE *hāligwæter* tr. eccl. l. *aqua benedicta* blessed water.] Water blessed by a priest and used in various rites esp. of purification; water dedicated to holy uses.

Comb. **holy-water sprinkler** (a) an aspergillum, (b) *Hut.* a kind of club fitted with spikes

hom *həʊm* *n.* Also **haoma**, **homa**, *'həʊm* M19. [Pers. *f. hōm*, *hūm* (Avest. *huoma*) = Skt. *soma* *SOMA* n.] (The juice of) the sacred plant of the ancient Persians and Parsees.

hom- *comb. form* see *HOMO-*

homage *'hɒmɪdʒ/* *n.* ME. [OFr. (*h*) *homage* (mod. *hommage*) f. med. L. *hominaticum*, f. L. *homo*, *homin-* man. see -AGE.] 1 In *Feudal Law*, formal public acknowledgement of allegiance, by which a tenant or vassal declared himself the man of the king or lord from whom he held land, and bound himself to his service; *gen.* acknowledgement of a person's superior worth, rank, beauty, etc.; dutiful reverence. Freq. in *do, pay, render, homage* (to). ME. 2 A body of people owing allegiance; *spec.* the body of tenants attending, or the jury in, a manorial court. ME. 3 An act of homage, a payment of money etc. made as an acknowledgement of vassalage. L16.

1 N. MONSARRAT The crowd came forward to kneel in homage. E. FEINSTEIN Poets as disparate as Yevushenko and Brodsky have paid homage to her. 3 J. POULKE Proust pays homages to such modern inventions as the railroad

homage *'hɒmɪdʒ/* *v.* Now rare. LME. [f. the n.] 1 f. a v.t. Pay homage. LME. M17. b. v.t. Pay homage to. M17. 2 f. v.t. Give or pay as a token of homage. L16. M17.

Homageable a. bound to pay homage. 17th-18th c.

homager *'hɒmɪdʒə/* *n.* Now *arch.* or *Hut.* LME. [OFr. *homagier*, f. as *HOMAGE* n.: see -ER.] A person who owes homage or holds land by it; *spec.* (Eng. *Law*, now *Hut.*) a manorial tenant.

fig. SHAKES. *Ant. & Cl.* Thou bluntest, Antony, and that blood of thine is Caesar's homager

homalographic *a.* var. of *homolographic*.

hombre *'ɒmbreɪ*, *-bri* *n.* M19. [Sp. = man, f. L. *homo*, *homin-* human being cf. *OMBRE*.] In Spain and Spanish-speaking countries, a man; *gen.* (chiefly US *slang*) a man, a guy.

American Speech Cowboys living a rough and hardy existence occasionally develop into 'tough hombres'.

Homburg *'hɒmbʊrg/* *n.* L19 [*Homburg*, a town near Wiesbaden, western Germany.] In full *Homburg hat*. A soft felt hat with a curved brim and dented crown, first worn at Homburg.

'həʊm *n.* & *a.* [OE *hām*, corresp. to OFris. *num*, *nēm*, OS *hēm* (Du. *heem*), (O)HG *heim*, ON *heimr*, Goth. *haimis*, f. Gmc.] A n. 1 A collection of dwellings; a village, a town. OE. ME. 2 The place where one lives permanently, esp. as a member of a family or household, a fixed place of residence. Freq. without article or possessive, esp. as representing the centre of family life. OE. b. The family or social unit occupying a home. Freq. *w.* descriptive adj., as *broken home*, *happy home*. L19. c. The furniture or contents of a home. L19. d. A private house, a dwelling-house. Chiefly N. Amer. *Austral.* S. Afr., NZ. L19. 3 *Usu.* without article or possessive: (an affectionate term for) the country of one's origin; *esp.* Great Britain or England regarded as the mother country among citizens living abroad or (now *arch.* or *Hut.*) inhabitants of what were in the past its colonies or dependencies. ME. 4 A place or region to which one naturally belongs or where one feels at ease. Also *spiritual home*. M16. 5 A place where a thing flourishes or from which it originates. E18. 6 An institution looking after people etc. who need care or have no home of their own. M19. b. *spec.* Such an institution for mentally ill or mentally handicapped people.

colloq. M20. 7 *Sports & Games.* An area where a player is free from attack. Also, the point aimed at, the goal. M19. 8 *Lacrosse.* Each of the three players stationed nearest their opponents' goal. M19. 9 *ellipt.* A home win. L20.

2 G. B. SHAW When their business compels them to be away from home. LYNDON B. JOHNSON Every family in America deserves a decent home, whether a farmhouse or a city apartment. M. IGNATIEFF Home is the place we have to leave in order to grow up. G. STEIN Stray dogs and cats Anna always kept until she found them homes. *holiday home*, *mobile home*, *motor home*, etc. d. N. MAILER Now he had a home instead of an apartment. 3 S. HARVESTER Members could sit quiet under lazy fans while they read the latest newspapers from home. 4 *Contemporary Review* In the Church of England he found a satisfying home. 5 M. ARNOLO Oxford home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs. 6 G. STEIN They sent her where she would be taken care of, a home for poor consumptives. *convalescent home*, *dog's home*, *marital home*, *nursing home*, *old people's home*, etc. b. A. MCCOWEN His brain collapsed and he finished his days in a home.

Phrases (a) in one's own home, one's neighbourhood, town, country, etc. *arch.* in the mother-country, in Britain. (b) at ease as if in one's own home, well-informed, familiar (*in, on, with*); (c) available to callers; see also *AT-HOME* n.; (d) on a team's own ground (*opp. away*) = *near home* below. *cut out of house and home* see *EAT* v. *hearth and home* see *HEARTH* n.

N. Amer. & *Austral.* = *home* from *home* below. *home* a place other than one's home where one feels at home, a place providing homelike amenities. *home and home*: see *HOUSE* n. 1. *last home*: see *LAST* a. *long home*: see *LONG* a. 1. *near home*: near one's home, country, etc.; *fig.* affecting one closely, not at home; see *NOT ADV.* *second home*: see *SECOND* a. *starter home*. *STALELY home* *dial.* & US at home. *walk home* see *WALK* v. 1.

B *attrib.* (freq. hyphenated) or as *adj.* (not *pred.* except formerly in sense 3). 1 Of, relating to, or associated with (one's) home, domestic; used, performed, carried on, etc., at home. M16. b. Adjoining or surrounding one's home, or the chief house on an estate. M17. 2 Relating to, produced or carried on in, originating from, one's country or nation. *Opp. foreign*. L16. b. Dealing with the affairs of one's own country (*opp.* those of foreign countries) or (chiefly

b. but, j. dog, f. few, g. get, h. he, j. yes, k. cat, l. leg, m. man, n. no, p. pen, r. red, s. sit, t. top, v. van, w. we, z. zoo, ʃ. she, ʒ. vision, θ. thin, ð. this, ŋ. ring, tʃ. chip, dʒ. jar

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

SARA REISMAN

In a time when the production and distribution of news media have surpassed historical precedents, artists and cultural producers are increasingly taking up political concerns, often in ways that counter the media's messages. Most of the works in this exhibition were made prior to the recent mobilization of the term *homeland* in American political discourse. Several reference the resurgence of patriotism around the time of the first Gulf War, which set the stage for later political ripple effects: a second and more devastating Palestinian intifada in Israel, the development of al Qaeda as the highly organized network that would execute the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, DC, and subsequent new policies of "Homeland Security" within the United States.

The term *homeland* as it's used currently was introduced into American political vocabulary within the last two years, evolving primarily out of two international events: the conflict in Palestine/Israel and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Within the Palestinian/Israeli context, *homeland* is used by two historically displaced peoples, Palestinians and Israeli Jews. In America, the term was initially deployed in President Bush's first public address in response to the terrorist attacks in 2001, announcing that there had been an "attack on the homeland." From that moment, *homeland security* has become institutionalized by the Bush administration through the recently established Department of Homeland Security:

The new department's first priority is to protect the nation against further terrorist attacks... Besides providing a better-coordinated defense of the homeland, DHS is also dedicated to protecting the rights of American citizens and enhancing public services, such as...citizenship services.

For the most part, the text distributed by the Department of Homeland Security's website seems straightforward enough. But the DHS's dedication to "protecting the rights of American citizens" raises a number of questions about who is considered an American citizen, which rights a citizen has, and at whose expense these rights are protected. On a local level, the erosion of these rights during the months preceding this exhibition's opening was most apparent in the hostile response of New York City's law enforcement agencies to demonstrations of antiwar sentiment on February 15 and March 22, 2003.

The artists in *Homeland* were invited to submit images, original statements, and texts taken from a variety of sources, in response to questions including: how their artwork addresses issues of nationalism and patriotism; how recent use of the term *homeland* in American politics has manifested itself in daily and cultural life; how identification with a homeland is structured and controlled by the government; and how language around *homeland security* has been circulated. Most of the following contributions were made by artists whose work is on view in the main gallery. Several texts and images were submitted by video artists whose works are included in the two video screenings presented in conjunction with the exhibition. Also included is a text by Olav Westphalen, whose *Statue* (2003) was completed just prior to the exhibition's opening. Many of these contributions illuminate the process of creating and presenting artwork of a political nature, while others provide perspectives on the artists' intentions in their work.

The notion that some of these artists' works operate as alternative or critical projects that counter the media raises many important questions about the role of artists and cultural producers in contemporary society. In an era of limited U.S. governmental support for the arts and even less support for individual artists, it is interesting to consider the artist's outsider position, one that allows for the possibility of critical perspectives. Unlike corporate media organizations, artists and cultural producers are generally not obligated to toe a party line, and their work may be regarded as less mediated than what we constantly confront in political and information arenas. As a means of examining the concept of homeland through the voices of the artists, the following texts and images—or "primary documents"—create a multivocal dialogue about the topic at hand: homeland.



Walid Ra'ad and Jayce Salloum
still from *Talaeen a Januub/Up to the South*, 1993. Video, color, sound; 60 min.

JAYCE SALLOUM

(in his own words)

Going into Lebanon we were familiar with the problematic "territories" (conceptually and physically) we were working within and those we were trying to avoid. Lebanon has been used as a metaphor, as a "site" serving the real and imaginary both for the inhabitants as well as the various "visitors" throughout its history. It had been a ground for a history of claims, ideological agendas, discursive texts, and acts of "reconstruction," becoming an adjective for the nostalgia of our past and the fears of the future, and surrounding that, the cycle of the seduction by and repulsion of the

"Orient." In the "West" we came to understand so very little in spite of the massive amounts of "information" we received regarding Lebanon, the war, and especially the situation in the south of the country that for one to even mention the name all sorts of images came to mind. What basis in which realities did these images have; where in Lebanon were these realities situated? Who were we really talking about, us or them, or some other construction in-between? For it is in-between that a "documentor" in a culture or a landscape is caught.¹

KEITH SANBORN

(in his own words)

From the first moment I heard the name of the "Department of Homeland Security," I felt a kind of horror and sadness. Brecht said that he could never hear the term *undeutsch* ("un-German") without recalling "Hitler's wolfish intonation."² This cynical evocation of national feeling to cover the destruction of civil liberties marks a new stage in the internal militarization of democracy in the United States.

The military propaganda film *Enduring Freedom*³ produced by the U.S. Navy carries out a parallel deception. My project in [the video] *Operation Double Trouble* [2003] was to lay bare its mechanisms by the simplest means possible, without falling into a mere counter-offensive using the same techniques of manipulation.

Machiavelli observes that one of power's oldest techniques is to give a name to replace what it has taken away. "Homeland."⁴

SHELLY SILVER

(in her own words)

It is a well-known fact that we always recognize our homeland when we are about to lose it.

—Albert Camus⁵

I went to Berlin in the winter of 1992, after eight years of Reagan and three years of Bush. This was to be my first time living in a foreign country; I was to go from a situation which I probably knew too well to see clearly, to one that I didn't understand at all. It was this initial lack of comprehension—not being able to make sense of what people were telling me of the reunited city, the “us” and “them”—that compelled me to start shooting Former East/Former West.

Of course there's a difference. They live over there, and we live over here.

—Former East/Former West

I ended up shooting 180 hours of interviews over the course of a year and a half. During this time I felt as if I was constantly running after something that kept permutating, moving just outside of my grasp (the term obsession could be used here).

The tape is structured, as the interviews were, around approximately seventeen linguistically based questions, asking for definitions of many of the words which were being bandied about around the time of reunification. These words (Heimat, nationality, freedom, democracy, socialism) include most of the big emotional words that were being thrown around at the time (much as homeland, terrorism, and democracy are being bandied about by our President today). But unlike the U.S. in 2003, in Germany in 1992 I found, through the interviews, that many people were really thinking about,

examining these words. It seemed that the enormous changes that they were living through made simplistic use of these words no longer possible. The normally smooth surface of everyday life had cracked, leaving the opportunity (necessity?) to peer down to what was and is always in fact below.

Every Volk has a history, every person has their own history, and one must find a relationship to one's history and the history of one's people....Because one's roots are in this history, and only out of these roots is it possible to find one's way into the future.

—Former East/Former West

Shelly Silver still from
Former East/Former West, 1994.
Video, color, sound; 62 min.



HACHIVI EOGAR HEAP OF BIRDS

NEW YORK TODAY YOUR HOST IS
SHINNECOCK

Downtown New York's City Hall Park is a relatively quiet oasis surrounded by the neoclassical facades of the halls of justice. Over the past few months this park has been occupied by six enameled signs by Edgar Heap of Birds; collectively titled *Native Hosts*, they are dedicated to the peoples whose land is currently known as New York State. One sign—NEW YORK [backwards] / TODAY YOUR HOST IS MOHAWK—is close by a monument to Horace Greeley, the founder of the New York Tribune, and recalled here for his sadistic observations on Indians during the mid-1850s.

Heap of Birds's signs are situated on the perimeter of the park, facing onto the street. They occupy a strategic site on the boundary between "culture" and "nature" (or, rather, what stands for these terms in New York City). They form both a real and an imaginary territory into which the New York office worker or homeless person is cordially invited: a reminder of the sustenance freely given by the Wampanoags to the first English settlers. *Native Hosts* lays bare the problems of language: the vehicle through which the history and culture of his people were disavowed and redefined by the rhetoric of generations of Greeleys, who had power over political and public opinion, but whose vision was too limited to recognize what could not be thought by Western patriarchal structures. If the law dispossessed the people of their

homelands, language continues to disinherit the Native American from the right to speak in her or his own name. Language most clearly demonstrates the unbridgeable distance that exists between Anglo and Indian perceptions of the world.⁶

MATTHEW BUCKINGHAM

The majority of inquiries [into American Indian history] examine the interactions on this land between indigenous peoples and immigrants from foreign places, usually following the immigrants and their descendants as they systematically explore this continent's vast landscapes. As these histories progress through time, they focus on the immigrants' encounters with Native "others" and often on the subsequent policies that were implemented to regulate future relationships between "immigrants" and "Indians." This is Indian history: It implicitly defines Indian as a col-

lective term for all indigenous peoples and history as an objective, chronological narrative that has a temporal dimension beginning with the appearance of immigrants on these lands and an analytical model requiring the presence of both Natives and non-Natives.⁷

How might attention to names and naming, powerful acts of assumption and ascription alike, provide one point of entry into the complexity of representing the pasts of indigenous peoples in North America and other regions of the world as native societies engaged with the Western imperial world? Extending this even further, how does "naming the past" in the form of assumed, ascribed, and discovered historical narratives continue to shape the lives and identities of Native peoples today?⁸

ARNOLD MESCHES

(in his own words)

THE FBI FILES

The FBI started shadowing me as early as October 5, 1945. They stopped writing about me, according to the file pages I just received through the Freedom of Information Act, somewhere in early 1972. The usual variety of cropped hair, suit and tie shadows, the clichéd kind seen on TV, were called "Special Agents" (SA). They'd phone, on the pretext of selling car insurance, or, pretending to be the "subject's friend and customer," (6-5-53) would inquire about enrollment in a drawing class ("Do you use live models?"). They'd tap your phone or snap your picture at a protest march against the House



Matthew Buckingham *New Amsterdam*, 2002. Chromogenic color print, 11 x 10 in. (27.9 x 25.4 cm). Collection of the artist; courtesy Murray Guy Gallery, New York

Committee on Un-American Activities, or a demonstration for peace, at an art opening, or coming out of your studio. But, more often, their paid "Special Informants" (SI), or their "Special Employees" (SE) were a model or two who posed for me privately or for my class, a student who joined us for beer and pizza after class, a close neighbor whose children played with ours, a fledgling artist who you helped get into an exhibition, a comrade in a meeting, an asshole buddy you trusted with your heart and being, a confidant whose life's torments were deeply intertwined with your own, the trusted friend who sat next to you at a funeral (whose sketch of me showed up in my files,) or a lover or two. Their informers' weekly reports said that I was the "leader of the youth division of the American Youth For Democracy," the "chairperson" of its art club while a design student at Art Center School in LA (Oct '44–Nov '45), that I worked as a set illustrator on a Tarzan movie, was arrested for picketing and jailed, with eight hundred others, during the Hollywood strike of 1946–47, and that I applied for membership in the Communist Party (2-11-48). They trailed me to Salt Lake City, queried my students about what I lectured on, described the mural I did for the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union in Bingham Canyon, and helped get me fired in the fall of 1949....

My studio was broken into on August 6, 1956. An informer, later exposed, who frequented my studio, guided the FBI to the portfolios and paintings I was doing on the

Rosenbergs. They robbed me of art supplies, a cheap radio, and over two hundred works. They left me my books. Interestingly enough, pages dated three months prior to, and three months after, the robbery were deleted from the over 760 file pages sent me....

I have integrated some of [the pages], together with recent paintings, drawings, and other images about those times, into contemporary Illuminated Manuscripts, works on paper and canvas.⁹

OLAV WESTPHALEN

(in his own words)

Statue is one in a series of sculptures of businessmen standing or sitting in stoic postures. They are hand-carved and painted in a manner that calls up the earnestness and awkwardness of folk sculptures; think cigar store Indians or the ubiquitous wooden bears at California mountain resorts. On closer inspection, it turns out that the figures are hand-cuffed behind their backs. They are loosely based on media images of the arrests of Enron executives and other perpetrators in recent cases of corporate crime.

The term homeland suggests a community united by a shared identity and shared interests. It conflates the modern construct of the nation-state with the more archaic and more affect-laden idea of home. When the nation becomes home, citizens become family, and conflict can only be understood as soap opera. This depleted notion of identity not only displaces other frames

of identification—tax brackets, gender, race, ethics, knowledge, religious prejudice—it also evades the political sphere and in doing so limits the possibilities for meaningful dissent. It was for the same purpose that German emperor Wilhelm II announced during WWI: "I don't know political parties anymore, I know only Germans."¹⁰

The Statues don't attempt to represent an opinion. They are presentations rather than representations. They make note of the fact that for a brief moment there was an accumulation of rare and charged images: the extremely privileged being hunted and brought down. It also makes note of the wholly unresolved mixture of glee, resentment, and guilty admiration with which the public witnessed the fall of these aristocrats. Enron allowed a momentary glimpse at the true extent of social tension. One can think of the tale of the endangered Homeland as a response to this insight, as the state-prescribed Band-Aid to cover an alarming gash in the social tissue.

P.S.: An anonymous flyer has been posted around downtown New York lately. It reads:¹¹

IRAQ

IRAQ

IRAQ

Enron

IRAQ

IRAQ

IRAQ

FRANCESCO SIMETI

On 2 January, Coalition aircraft leafleted Iraq for the twelfth time in three months. At about 0515, the aircraft distributed 480,000 copies of a newly designed full-color "Information Radio" leaflet over Al Basrah and An Nasiriyah in the southeastern corner of Iraq. This leaflet depicts a radio tower in the center and small portable radios to the left and right. The text is the same as the previous radio leaflet IZD001. The text is "Information Radio 1800-2300 daily: 756 KHZ AM, 693 KHZ AM, 9715 KHZ SW, 11292 KHZ SW, 100.4 MHZ FM." The same message appears on both front and back. The leaflet bears the same design as one dropped over Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom in 2002 (AFD06).



ABOVE, READING FROM RIGHT TO LEFT: The coalition does not want to destroy the features of your country. The coalition will destroy any vital military targets.¹³

The thirteenth leaflet mission of the "No-Fly" campaign occurred on 4 January at 0615. Coalition aircraft dropped 240,000 of the new "Information Radio" leaflets (IZD002) over Al Amarah and As Samawah.¹²

BARBARA POLLACK

(in her own words)

In 1999, Lt. Col. Casey Wardynski, then director of the U.S. Army's Office of Economic and Manpower Analysis, decided the Army needed to make a game to communicate with the tech-oriented, online community of young teenagers as the next step in OEMA's mission of "evaluating and cultivating interest in and understanding of the Army among young Americans."¹⁴ The result, www.americasarmy.com, is an Internet-based interactive game targeted toward teenage boys.

This video [America's Army] is an update of my previous work, *Perfect Dark*, 2001, in which my son Max as

a 13-year-old was seen playing a violent video game. While that earlier work raised questions about the impact of imaginary violence on adolescent males, America's Army raises more pointed questions about the very real-life violence of impending war on their lives. On the one hand, "playing soldier" is, of course, a traditional aspect of the male childhood experience. On the other hand, this government-sanctioned game seems to be an especially specious form of propaganda, made doubly so due to its sophisticated graphics and state-of-the-art interactivity. While politicians have often derided (or called for censorship of) violent video games—urging parents to intervene because of the effect

such levels of violence allegedly have on children—apparently such issues are unimportant when American patriotism is at stake.

These questions are not as theoretical as they may seem: in September, high schools throughout the U.S. distributed forms that parents had to sign if they did not want their children approached by Army recruiters (i.e., if you did not sign the form, it was presumed that you consented to recruiters speaking with your child). In the not-too-distant future, today's 13-year-olds will soon have to make the choice whether they want to be part of America's Army.¹⁵

MICHAEL RAKOWITZ

(in his own words)

Minarets are the towers of mosques from which the adhan, the call to prayer, is sung by the muezzin five different times of the day (based on daily time standards configured in Cairo). Such a tower is often connected with a mosque and has one or more balconies or open galleries. The sound of the call is standard in public spaces in the Middle East, North Africa, Indonesia, Pakistan, and India....

In Manhattan, where there is a significant Muslim population, there are very few mosques. The call to prayer, if it is sung publicly at all, is usually broadcast at a low volume at ground level. In fact, in most major cities in the Western world, such broadcasts are prohibited as "disturbances of the peace." In London, the morning adhan is delayed from its legitimate time (usually around 5:15 am) so as not to disturb citizens living near the mosque.

In this ongoing performance, Minaret, I gain access to rooftops in NYC at the five designated times of the prayers. Using an alarm clock that I acquired in Jordan that plays the entire call to prayer from a digital chip, I amplify the sound using a megaphone, holding the clock to superimpose the miniature Eastern architecture of the mosque on the sprawling Western city.

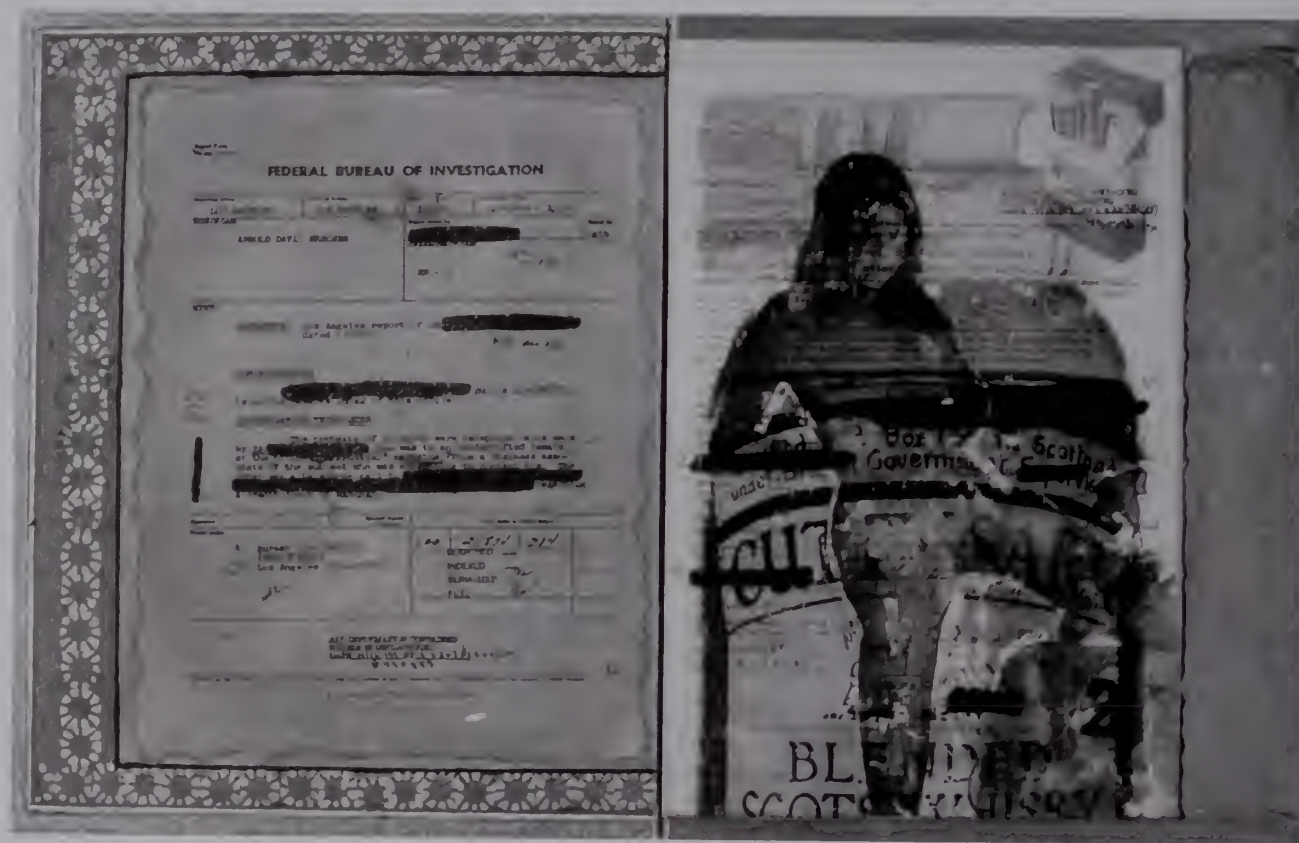
The alarm clock chosen, while a souvenir, is a common item among Muslims living in the West. It is used to re-create a ritual that is missing.



ANNETTE LEMIEUX

Social Order, 1988 (detail)

1. Jayce Salloum, "Occupied Territories: Mapping the Transgressions of Cultural Terrain," interview/essay by Molly Hankwitz, *Framework*, 43 (fall 2002): 85–103.
2. Bertolt Brecht before the Committee on Un-American Activities: *An Historical Encounter*, Presented by Eric Bentley (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1947).
3. "On January 1, 2003, the Department of the Navy released a short video that is now being shown in theaters around the country. This five-minute film features some of the Sailors and Marines who are participating in Operation Enduring Freedom. In the words of Lt. Col. James Kuhn, the producer of the film, 'The purpose of the film is to powerfully communicate to the American public what the Navy and Marine Corps team is and who we are. It's about the people wearing the uniform—from the 18-year-old rifleman in the middle of a hostile desert to the captain of a ship—their spirit, their sacrifice, and their contribution to the defense of the United States,'" from "Enduring Freedom: The Opening Chapter," The Naval Undersea Warfare Center, Newport, Rhode Island, www.nuwc.navy.mil/hq/video/enduringfreedom/video.html (cit. 30 April 2003).
4. Email communication with Keith Sanborn, 14 March 2003.
5. Albert Camus, "Summer in Algiers," in *Selected Essays and Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Philip Thody (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 89.
6. Jean Fisher, "New York Today Your Host Is Shinnecock," in *Claim Your Color*, exh. cat. (New York: Exit Art, 1990), 18.
7. Craig Howe, "Keep Your Thoughts above the Trees: Ideas on Developing and Presenting Tribal Histories," in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 2002), 161.
8. James Brooks, "Life Proceeds from the Name: Indigenous Peoples and the Predicament of Hybridity," in Shoemaker, ed., 182.
9. Arnold Mesches: *The FBI Files*, exh. cat. (Long Island City, New York: P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, 2003).
10. Christian Graf von Krockow, *Kaiser Wilhelm II. und seine Zeit: Biographie einer Epoche* (Berlin: Seidler Verlag, 1999), 224; translated by the artist.
11. Email communication with Olav Westphalen, 21 March 2003.
12. Herbert A. Friedman, "No-Fly Zone Warning Leaflets to Iraq," PsyWar.org, 20 March 2003, psywar.psyborg.co.uk/noflyzone.shtml (cit. 2 May 2003).
13. From www.psywarrior.com/IraqNoFlyZone.html (cit. 2 May 2003).
14. See America's Army: The Official U.S. Army Game, www.thearmygame.com (cit. 2 May 2003).
15. Email communication with Barbara Pollack, 17 March 2003.



ARNOLD MESCHES *The FBI Files* 41, 2002, from the series *The FBI Files*, 2000-02

PROLOGUE TO A FARCE OR A TRAGEDY, OR, A USER'S GUIDE TO THE INFORMATION HOMELAND

NAT TROTMAN

A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy.

— James Madison¹

Just after September 11, 2001, many survivors and witnesses described the events of that day as “just like a movie.” Unmistakably the destruction of the World Trade Center resembled the special effects “money shots” of science-fiction films like *Independence Day* (1996), in which the White House, the Empire State Building, and other monuments worldwide are simultaneously demolished by an alien race. That terrorists may have counted on this perception, or that it may be symptomatic of the current relation between the media and reality, has been taken up elsewhere and cannot be addressed properly here.² Still, this case does provide an entry point into another, even more recent instance of fiction’s blurred border with reality, one especially pertinent to the institution of *homeland* in the political discourse of the United States.

When the U.S. Senate passed the Homeland Security Act on November 20, 2002, one of the stated goals was to “facilitate communication between Federal departments and agencies regarding homeland security.”³ But because all communication subsists on information, to understand the ramifications of Homeland we must look at how information is thematized within its infrastructure, especially in the establishment of apparatuses for its collection and implementation. One locus for this is the Information Awareness Office (IAO) of the Department of Defense, which has set out to “imagine, develop, apply, integrate, demonstrate, and transition information technologies, components, and prototype closed-loop information systems that will counter asymmetric threats by achieving total information awareness.”⁴ The Total Information Awareness (TIA) system currently being developed by the IAO would enable the government to track any resident of the United States, by configuring tools that could mine already extant information systems including bank and telephone records, the Internet, surveillance footage, and more.

Again reality seems to approximate science fiction: critics of TIA have been quick to liken it to the dystopic worlds of Franz Kafka, George Orwell, and Philip K. Dick. And perhaps unknowingly, the organizers of the program have obliged these comparisons by adopting a logo crafted from a pyramid and floating eye and a motto that reads “Knowledge is power” in Latin.⁵ Justifiably, legislation is already moving through Congress to place a moratorium on TIA’s development; by the time of publication it may have gone the way of Attorney General John Ashcroft’s ill-fated TIPS program. Nevertheless, it is important that we view the IAO’s mandate and the conception of TIA as symptomatic of the government’s will to knowledge and as emblematic of the importance of information to the growing state security apparatus. We must also realize that the processes of homeland security institute Homeland as much as they

protect it. More than a geographic landmass, Homeland comprises a range of power relations that are continually in flux. Recent national security measures—including the war on Iraq—may be designed to protect the American people, but they also uphold the ideological complex known as Homeland and maintain its dominance at all levels of society.

Thus, to get at how Homeland employs information, we might begin locally, at the place of the individual. By seeking out possibilities for individual agency, we may situate ourselves in relation to these systems and open the way for protest and critique. Works in this exhibition by Arnold Mesches, Barbara Pollack, and the Institute for Applied Autonomy explore the gray areas in this field of knowledge and power, where individual life confronts the information systems of Homeland.

Though Homeland's creation and perpetuation depend on the accumulation of personal data about its constituency, the means by which it can accomplish this are subject to constant dispute around privacy and publicity. The ambiguity of a right to privacy under the U.S. Constitution has been an ongoing problem for legislators: though the Constitution does not mention "privacy" explicitly, Supreme Court decisions have inferred this right as implicit, as when in 1965 Justice Arthur J. Goldberg declared that "the right of privacy is a fundamental personal right, emanating 'from the totality of the constitutional scheme under which we live.'"⁸ With this ostensibly in mind, on July 4, 1966, President Lyndon Johnson passed the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). In Johnson's words, "a democracy works best when the people have all the information that the security of the nation permits."⁹ While this last caveat ensured that the State held the ultimate trump card, the Freedom of Information Act did grant significant leverage to the individual, especially when, in the wake of the Watergate scandal, the FOIA was amended to cover investigatory files compiled for law enforcement purposes.

Under these auspices, in 2000 Arnold Mesches gained access to 760 pages of Federal Bureau of Investigation documents detailing his activities from 1945 to 1972. Mesches, as a long-standing leftist, frequent protester, and erstwhile affiliate of the Communist Party, was a likely candidate for surveillance during the height of the Red Scare in the 1940s and 1950s. Nevertheless, the banality of information collected in these documents—and subsequently used in his collage series *The FBI Files* (2000–02), excerpted in this exhibition—boggles the mind. Among other details, the FBI noted that Mesches directed an art school that "showed a Czech film," the dates and locations of his children's births, and that he "only wears rolled-up blue jeans, with paint spatters, a T-shirt, and an old jean jacket" (i.e., that he "dressed like a Communist"), illustrating the excessive degree to which the instruments of Homeland value information.⁸

The documents also encapsulate the double valence of the Freedom of Information Act: although the pages were made available to Mesches, the FBI, as is routine, blacked out significant chunks of text that presumably would have compromised others' rights or even the security of the country. These visual markers of the clash between the individual right to information and the governmental right to suppress it were for Mesches the inspiration behind his collages: "the bold, black, slashing strokes looked like Franz Kline color sketches, with typewriter words peeking through."⁹ The content of those words also helped determine the painted, stenciled, and clipped elements surrounding the documents, which construct history on a personal scale as

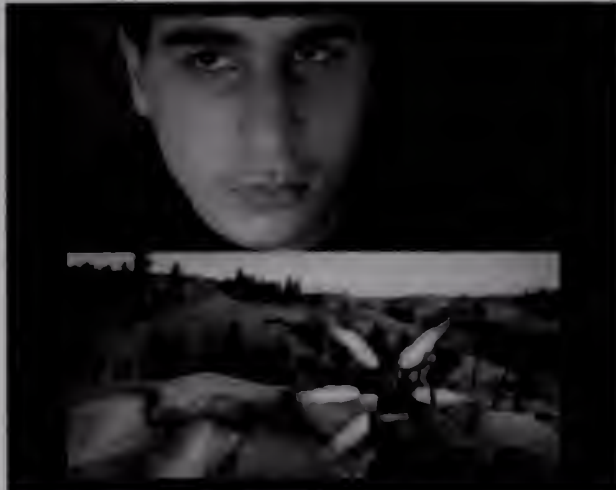
well as a social one. Allusions to civil rights struggles, McCarthyism, and popular culture of the time critically highlight the precedents for the current situation in which Homeland has arisen, without oversimplifying the complex situation of the individual within them.

As an individual exercising his right to information, Mesches could be anyone; indeed, the FBI recounts that it "has handled over three hundred thousand requests and over six million pages of FBI documents have been released to the public in paper format."¹⁰ These requests are routinely made on the Internet, which has become the major site of information collection and dispersal today; the FBI offers thousands of pages of its files to the public on its website, including, for instance, 188 pages on Pablo Picasso, 369 pages on Bertolt Brecht, and 909 pages on Leon Trotsky.¹¹ Appropriately enough, the origins of the Internet lie in the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the same government agency supervising the Information Awareness Office today.¹²

It is the system of communication enabled by the Internet that makes contemporary society so vulnerable to surveillance. The Web increases the possibility of gathering information, often illicitly, while also providing an unparalleled opportunity for disseminating it. Over the past decade, electronic junk mail has become an everyday nuisance, file-sharing communities like Napster and Kazaa have sprung up, jeopardizing copyright laws, and many businesses have developed software specifically for free download. Within this milieu a sizable culture has emerged around multiplayer online role-playing games, in which many players located around the world can interact in a single graphic interface within a loose narrative based, for example, around an adventure quest.¹³

Realizing the public relations potential of these immersive scenarios, on July 4, 2002, the U.S. Army released its own multiplayer game, "America's Army: Operations." The game allows players to work their way through simulated Army training and ultimately interact with each other in battle against a faceless enemy. While the game is not officially a recruitment tool, according to project originator Casey Wardynski, it serves as "part of the Army's communications strategy designed to leverage the power of the Internet as a portal through which young adults can get a firsthand look at what it is like to be a Soldier."¹⁴

In her video, also titled *America's Army* (2003), Barbara Pollack uses a split screen to present two views of the game being played by her son Max, with whom she frequently collaborates. On the lower register one sees the game itself, which operates from a first-person viewpoint; above, Max's face stares forward impassively, slack-faced in concentration on his playing. The video thus essentially pictures the line of communication between boy and game—one sees from Max's point of view and also from the screen's. Bringing the game's existence to an audience likely less savvy to the world of interactive gaming, Pollack raises important questions about its motives and meaning. In her son's ambiguous expressions she also complicates any clear sense of effect by the game's propagandistic impulses—after all, it is play, as evidenced by the moment when Max fires a grenade launcher into the air in order to kill his own character. Yet by establishing and assuming the viewpoint of the game, Pollack presents the sinister view that Max is being watched, and follows new-media theorist Espen J. Aarseth, who writes that "just as the game becomes a text for the user at the time of playing, so it can be argued, does the user become a text for the game.... The game plays the user just as the user plays the game."¹⁵ Once more we may be reminded of



BARBARA POLLOCK stills from *America's Army*, 2003

reality turning toward science-fiction, as when in Orson Scott Card's 1985 novel *Ender's Game*, a group of 11-year-old children are induced to commit genocide through an Army video game, precisely because their youth makes them the ultimate weapon.

I mention these fictional accounts not simply to illustrate that surveillance has been a persistent theme in cultural production for some time, but to point out that in many ways the warnings of our more imaginative writers seem to be coming true. In response, these works, as well as many others in the *Homeland* exhibition, push for awareness of the machinations summoned within and around that term. But we must also envision ways out of the regime of information evidenced in Mesches's and Pollack's work; that said, we may return for a moment to the IAO's motto. If "knowledge is power," information is the medium in which this formulation subsists. Its rawness grants it an ambivalent status—information facilitates power but takes no sides. In this way it gets at what was for Michel Foucault the heart of power relations: "It is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable."¹⁶ The problem that the DHS and IAO must address—to which their very existence attests—is that, as a construct of power relations, *Homeland* is always contingent: it sets the conditions of its own dissolution as it attempts to constitute itself. In the last year or so, the term *homeland* has come to epitomize the discourse of the U.S. national self-image, precisely when the national sense of security has been cut to the quick and its power mechanisms most defensively overdetermined. As with so many school-yard bullies, bold words and acts veil deep insecurities. Thus we can see the newly formed Department of Homeland Security and other initiatives like the TIA program as symptoms of a crisis point, where resistances—Foucault's "odd term in relations of power...inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite"—are at their most possible and necessary.¹⁷

In thematizing the power structures of information and knowledge, Foucault famously posited his theory of the panopticon, now eerily reemergent in the IAO's cryptic all-seeing eye logo. The panopticon began as a technology of prison architecture, devised by Jeremy Bentham in 1787, whereby cells were arranged circularly to allow for constant surveillance from a single, central point. This observatory, however, was itself masked by a bright light, which, shining into the cells, prevented prisoners from ever knowing with certainty when they were being watched or by whom.¹⁸ Within the panopticon, which Foucault expands to accommodate society at large, one group controls the mechanisms of information gathering, establishing a "permanent and continuous field" that conditions its subjects and "enables the disciplinary power to be both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert,...and absolutely 'discreet,' for it functions permanently and largely in silence."¹⁹

In our daily lives, especially in urban settings, panopticism manifests itself most literally in the form of the surveillance cameras that line many city streets. Surreptitiously located well out of reach, these cameras usually evade notice, and one never knows who may or may not be watching through them. In their ongoing Web-based project *iSee* (2001–), the Institute for Applied Autonomy counters this surveillance society that, we should remember, a Total Information Awareness program could so easily abuse. Their objective is simple yet effective:

Survey the surveillance. During public workshop sessions, IAA records the locations of cameras throughout Manhattan, then loads this information into Web-based mapping software that automatically finds paths of least surveillance for its pedestrian users.

The multiple levels upon which *iSee* operates lie embedded within its title: in one reading it proclaims its user's agency, informing the invisible figures behind the cameras that "I See"; at the same time the lowercase *i* can stand in for information itself, as in *information technology*, implicating the entire World Wide Web. Quite literally, *iSee*'s medium is information—the project intervenes in both the real space of the street and the virtual space of the Internet. Through this sort of grassroots activism, IAA tips the balances on Homeland, providing a model for critical response within the domain of the information-gathering technologies of power. It offers individual subjects a way of finding those spaces and practices not perceivable to Homeland, as conceptualized by cultural theorist Michel de Certeau: the "multiform, resistance, tricky, and stubborn procedures that elude discipline without being outside the field in which it is exercised."²⁰ Furthermore, *iSee* expands this urban sphere to virtual space, where, like the characters in William Gibson's 1984 novel *Neuromancer*, we interface with the landscape of information, and where, to borrow de Certeau's terms, there is no "map" relating to "*seeing* (the knowledge of an order of places)," but only a "tour" concerning "*going* (spatializing actions)."²¹ Without the map, that "'geometrical' or 'geographical' space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions,"²² Homeland falters, ensuring spaces for resistance to its hegemonic regime.

1. Quote 37348, *The Columbia World of Quotations*, 1996 ed.
2. See Bill Schaffer, "Just Like a Movie: September 11 and the Terror of Moving Images," *Senses of Cinema* 17 (November–December 2001), www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/01/17/symposium/schaffer.html (cit. 25 March 2003).
3. "Legislative Updates: U.S. Department of Homeland Security," Office of Legislative Policy and Analysis, olpa.od.nih.gov/legislation/107/pendinglegislation/homelandsecurity.asp (cit. 25 March 2003).
4. "IAO Misson," Information Awareness Office, www.darpa.mil/iao (cit. 23 March 2003).
5. Hendrik Hertzberg, "Too Much Information," *New Yorker* 78 (9 December 2002): 45–46.
6. *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965), cited in "*Griswold v. Connecticut*," Wiley Rein & Fielding, LLP, 2003, www.wrf.com/publications/ppt/privacy/cases/griswold.asp (cit. 23 March 2003).
7. "Statement by the President upon Signing S.1160," Office of the White House Press Secretary, 4 July 1966, The National Security Archive, www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/foia/FOIAResponse66.pdf (cit. 23 March 2003).
8. Quotes are from the FBI documents, as recounted by Mesches in *Arnold Mesches: The FBI Files*, exh. cat. (Long Island City, New York: P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, 2003).
9. *Ibid.*
10. "Introduction," Freedom of Information Act, foia.fbi.gov (cit. 23 March 2003).
11. "Reading Room Index," Freedom of Information Act, foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex.htm (cit. 23 March 2003).
12. See Barry M. Leiner, et al., "A Brief History of the Internet," Internet Society, 4 August 2000, www.isoc.org/internet/history/brief.shtml (cit. 23 March 2003).
13. Perhaps by coincidence, one major community of gamers is united under the name HomeLAN (www.homelanned.com), which provides resources for the gaming community, including the servers that host the "America's Army" games.
14. "Questions & Answers: Questions Frequently Asked by Parents," "America's Army," www.americasarmy.com/faq.php?section=Parents (cit. 23 March 2003).
15. Espen J. Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 162.
16. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990 [1978]), 93.
17. *Ibid.*, 96.
18. See Foucault, "Complete and Austere Institutions," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 217–18.
19. Foucault, "The Means of Correct Training" in *The Foucault Reader*, 192.
20. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 96.
21. *Ibid.*, 119.
22. *Ibid.*, 93.



INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED AUTONOMY screenshots from *iSee*, 2001–



MICHAEL RAKOWITZ *Minaret*, 1998– (documentary photographs)

TURF

CRAIG BUCKLEY

Platitudes, through what they hide, work for the prevailing organization of life.

—Mustapha Khayati¹

Homeland is suddenly everywhere. Whether as the title for a new branch of government, a notion carefully worked up in speeches, or a subject of public confusion, the language of homeland has come to occupy an unprecedented centrality in many forms of public address in the United States.² Through various forms of public address common terms are being called upon to articulate an abstract notion of homeland within a more familiar lexicon. The most effective forms of address function to persuade the audience by offering it an opportunity to identify with the speaker against something or someone else.³ As a populist term, *homeland* has been positioned as just such an appeal, a strategy epitomized in the speechmaking of Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge by the use of the term *turf*. Speaking to potential conflicts latent in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, Ridge acknowledges that “conflicts are particularly sensitive in a town as turf-conscious as Washington, DC. But as I said on day one, the only turf we should be worried about protecting is the turf we stand on.”⁴ *Turf* evokes local struggles for dominance from the petty to the violent, while simultaneously referencing the very ground beneath the listener’s feet. This metonymic notion of turf allows each shred and clump of earth to stand in for the country as a whole, calling us to share the Secretary’s concern for what is presumed to be the same territory. In this light, homeland might be seen neither as a question of physical territory, nor as a geographical category based in emotion, but as a figure of address used to reconcile the abstract and the familiar through a commonplace term like *turf*.⁵ In the work of Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, Emily Jacir, Nils Norman, and Michael Rakowitz, such familiarized forms of public address are adopted and subverted. By rearticulating these conventions in overt and subtle ways, their work draws attention to the forces embedded in different forms of address, whether these be in artistic, social, or political practices.

Since 1998, Michael Rakowitz has used a mechanism of public address in his ongoing performance project *Minaret* (1998–). Rakowitz’s performance takes place on rooftops of tall buildings around New York City at the five hours of the *adhan*, the Islamic call to prayer typically performed from towers called *minarets*. At these times, a travel alarm (purchased by the artist while in Jordan) plays a digital rendition of the summons.⁶ With the help of a megaphone Rakowitz broadcasts the calls to the surrounding area. In video documentation of the performance one hears how the amplification stretches the digital chip’s recorded call, lending its slight presence a newfound range. Beyond its religious significance, the *adhan* is also layered with personal history and questions about the meaning of home. “My mother’s family,” Rakowitz writes, “whose house I was raised in and whose culture I identify with, is from Iraq. They were Jews from Baghdad who were exiled in 1946, and one of the recollections of life in the Middle

1-860-6340

KING MEN

FLOWER

vy. into cooking
attract health
athletic, enjoys
38-46 ♀ 9946

oration Petite
ie, prof'l concert
r. warm, real
M 48-60 Ardent
sic lover as
heart ♀ 9886

ROMEO!

3 B Handsome,
BF, pretty, smart
35-45 6' plus
♂ 9560

LADY

, beautiful figure
ackles, attrac, af
ding SW widowed
N/S, financially
ring ♀ 9623

or friendship

R I am 29
with brains
ne & car U B
ish ♀ 9761

WOMEN: Jewish Men

Semitic sweetheart seeks enlightened
Jewish man with whom to escape NY
winter & return to ancestral home for
warm Palestinian-Jewish Valentine
Dorcas Galilee ♀ 9795

Sexy English Black F

Home attendant seeks White
gentleman ♀ 9856

SHALOM BABY!

Cute Palestinian Semite gal. Hoping
to find my perfect Israeli man. Let's
stroll the beaches of Akko & live and love
in Jerusalem No Fatnes ♀ 9562

Shalom Baby!

Palestinian Semite gal Hoping to
find my perfect Israeli man Let's stroll
the beaches of Akko & live and love
in Jerusalem No Fatnes ♀ 9562

SHE S THE ONE

Intelligent, sexy, 5'4, 115 lbs,
creative, brunette, Ivy, in the arts
seeks smart, weight-lifting, 5'11+
successful, muscular guy 36-46 for
caring, love & laughter ♀ 9739

WHY HANG THE HUNG HANGS AT THE
♂ 9925

VERY VERY SPECIAL

Vy attr passionate sexy sensitive SWF
blw/gm Loves music, travel, films
museums, comedy and education & work
intl job ♀ 95045 ♂ 9564

VIRILE PALESTINIAN SEMITE

Exotic looks & curly hair. Seeks Jew-
ish lady (any race) 4 LTR in Israel I
love history, Arabic cuisine & skin
diving in Lake Tiberias ♀ 9564

VOLUP TUOUS LATINA

Pretty 28 yr old, earthy, funny, sweet
seeks successful financially secure
gentleman 30-45 who knows how to
treat & pamper a lady. No fatness
free. No phone calls ♀ 9564

YOU claimed our FALAFEL

lives oranges, music, houses as
yours. ME the REAL SEMITE
sexy, Palestinian gal. meet you
at the beach ♀ 9564

YOU STOLE THE LAND

MAY AS WELL TAKE THE WOMEN!
Redhead Palestinian ready to be
colonized by your army
Jewish Hot Strong U like to
be colonized ♀ 9564

YOUNG FUN PETITE

FLORIAN DUBOIS ♀ 9775
JOAN DAUDY ♀ 9775
Young Palestinian Semite. M.

FOR FUN & EXCITING REL
♂ 9613

BF SOUGHT SWPM 35,
secure, honest & easygoing
friendship & eventually r
who is thin, smart, possi-
bly drives, conversat-
ion partner ♀ 9601

BI F WANT

Black WM 6 handsome bit,
sensual flmship & will
make you v. happy

BIG IS BEAUT

Wanted, Large, lovely, b
full figured F I'm WM
handsome business exec
screet relationship ♀

BUXUAL OR BICURIO

1. 3, attractive slim, r
2. 212 or 718 tough
handsome tall, slim, intel-
ligent gentleman No men ♀

BLACK FEMALE PREF

Black eyed male (39) some
5'11" friend. Sharp min
hearted to match wils. cre-
ative & sensual fun

BLACK PRINCES

Italian, toned, muscular &
(40 5'9 175) into boxing
Sicilian ISO very attractive
fine beauty (25 30) for
friendship, possibly more

East was the sounds of the Islamic call to prayer coming from the minarets."⁷

While such personal associations serve as a starting point for the work, the performance itself is addressed to an audience that remains anonymous, contingent, and plural. The video of the work is not only a document allowing a gallery audience to access a past event, it simultaneously testifies to the distance separating any action from its reception. Even when amplified and broadcast the call

EMILY JACIR *Sexy Semite*, 2000–02 (detail)

must compete with the swarm of noises that fill New York's streets; it may well go unheard by the public. That the street audience may not hear the call does not mean that the work fails to be fully public; rather, it signals a gap that marks Rakowitz's mode of address.

Such a gap points to two senses within the term *public*. First, the public anyone who might be within earshot at the right time; and second, the public codes and institutions that, governing everyday actions, define how an event like the call to prayer takes place. Inhabiting a historically established architectural form and religious ritual, the project has its basis in Rakowitz's visits to mosques in New York and research into the history of Islamic architecture. While minarets have become a standard feature of Middle East mosque architecture, they are not common in Manhattan, where the adhan is generally performed at a discreet volume from street level. Temporarily transforming New York buildings into minarets, Rakowitz alludes to the earliest minarets, many of which were similarly appropriated Greek watchtowers. In so doing, *Minaret* draws attention to the fact that the public character of buildings and the rituals associated with them are inextricable from the politics of performativity, the spoken and unspoken factors that govern the details of intersecting lives. This is where the specificity of Rakowitz's mode of address is most pertinent: just as the alarm clock's call to prayer may not be heard by passersby below, *Minaret* suggests that the politics defining and articulating common spaces may be quite imperceptible to the disparate inhabitants of those spaces. As Homi Bhabha's notion of performativity emphasizes, "it is precisely in these banalities that the unhomely stirs, as the violence of a racialized society falls most enduringly upon the details of life: where you can sit, or not; how you can live, or not; what you can learn, or not; who you can love, or not."⁸

Emily Jacir's *Sexy Semite* (2000–02) takes as its venue precisely the search for love and romance that takes place within a newspaper's pages. The project began as a response to the subtle and overt forms of racism often couched within the language of personal advertisements. Enlisting the help of sixty Palestinian men and women, Jacir asked each person to place an anonymous personal advertisement seeking a relationship with a Jewish partner and emigration to Israel. "Dark-eyed Palestinian temptress," begins one ad, "ready to settle down and go home with Jewish man who will get me there." Another reads: "SEXY SEMITE 5'10", -29. Thin, curvy, athletic Palestinian who loves dancing, food, travel, art. Seeking: Jewish male (any race) for LTR and to live together in Israel." The advertisements were submitted by their authors and appeared in New York's *Village Voice* personals section over three consecutive years.

It is not simply the potentially scandalous prospect of such cross-cultural and politically hybrid romances that the work foregrounds. The advertisements' innuendo draws attention to a political double standard marking the Law of Return. Israel's Law of Return allows any Jew living in any country to emigrate to Israel and obtain citizenship. By contrast, the right of return for Palestinians displaced in the conflicts of 1948 and 1967 is not recognized, and remains a significant point of contention. It was *Sexy Semite*'s third appearance, in the politically charged climate of 2002, that sparked responses from the Anti-Defamation League, the Israeli consulate, and a number of U.S. media sources. The milder responses puzzled over the intentions behind such offers, expressing concerns about immigration policy and the potential misuse of personal ads. Other sources went further, suggesting that the ads might be part of a terrorist plot, drawing a parallel to the case of a Jewish teenager murdered in the West Bank after allegedly being lured there by an online offer of sex.⁹ While the innuendo provoked some to jump to hasty speculations about terrorism, it is the touches of humor and irony found in the ads that make them remarkable.

Anyone who has read personal ads knows not to blindly trust what they offer. Their address elicits a mixture of desire and suspicion that Jacir's project deftly manipulates. Ranging from the subtle to the outlandish, the ads are varying evocations of a similar demand. Marking the work's mode of address is the tension between the relative freedom afforded by the personal ad (where one can engage in all kinds of self-invention) and the inflexible identity imposed by the law. Jacir and her collaborators use the published word's ability to create a public distinct from that addressed in a face-to-face encounter. This temporary discursive public is characterized by a seeming anonymity and equivalence between writers and readers (the theoretical "anyone"), but is ultimately confronted with conditions of power that disallow that anonymity and equivalence. If on first glance the intimately banal details of life seem removed from the contemporary politics surrounding questions of homeland, *Sexy Semite* suggests that it is precisely in the details that the effects of power are intimately negotiated. As an insertion into an existing system of circulation, the work deliberately cuts across existing journalistic devices for framing the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Setting the personal within the politically determined, its title foregrounds the ambiguity of *Semite* (while the term is commonly associated with Jews, *Semite* is a geo-linguistic reference including Palestinians). Through such ambiguities *Sexy Semite* wagers on its ability to address the inequalities coded into the banalities of courtship and citizenship, intervening in the very terms of the discussion.

Using similarly concise language, *Native Hosts* (1988–), an installation by Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, locates its address in one of the most emblematic of public spaces: the city park. A series of text-based signs, *Native Hosts* was first installed in New York's City Hall Park in 1988 and has subsequently been installed in public venues across North America. One of the panels reads: NEW YORK [backwards] /TODAY YOUR HOST IS /SHINNECOCK. In red lettering on aluminum, the panels' generic format places them closer to parking signage than to the bronzed didactic panels commonly found in parks. Usually installed in groupings of up to twelve, the signs present passersby with an extended series of tribal names. *Native Hosts* appeals to three different but overlapping addressees: the local tribes and their historical claims to place, the semiotic process of naming, and the passerby who will decipher their text.

Describing his manner of arriving at the work, Heap of Birds recounts an anecdote from a 1988 visit to Rhode Island. Before the artist began the lecture he had come to present, the person introducing him offered the floor to any local leaders who might be present, as a way of acknowledging the place of local tribes within the forum. For Heap of Birds the panels that make up *Native Hosts* perform an analogous gesture, giving place to local tribal history while self-reflexively acknowledging his own status as a visitor to the tribal territories where he installs the project.¹⁰ For each version of the work Heap of Birds consults with scholars and local native leaders to establish the historical range of tribal names to appear on the panels. Through this process Heap of Birds opens up the totalized opposition of native and colonizer, creating a field that encourages viewers to enter into dialogue about their relationship to local histories and their public representation.

Each word in Heap of Birds's signs uses precise yet subtle means to estrange the familiar significance of the site. *New York* appears in mirror writing, a tactic that forces the viewer to mentally reverse the word in order to restore its legibility, complicating the habitual leap from sign to meaning, an act that urban dwellers do hundreds of times a day. By taking the proper name out of its usual context, Heap of Birds draws attention to an often overlooked but profound colonial operation: the naming that inscribes the colonizer's presence onto occupied land. In the process names like *Shinnecock* are pushed into near obscurity while others, such as *Manhattan*, are appropriated and rearticulated by the dominant language. Reminding us that the first European colonizers were offered a place upon the shores of Manhattan, the word *host* alludes to the complicated relationship of hostility and hospitality that marks this history. *Host* also recalls the euphemistic language of the development and restoration committees that since 1988 have played an increasing role in sponsoring and regulating supposedly public park spaces. Locating the viewer and Shinnecock in the present, *today* asserts that colonial history remains contemporary. *Your* condenses all of these words, a trigger point at which the address becomes most ambiguous. Who or what is hailed by *your*? The passerby? The civic community? The name? The site? Here the meaning of the address, along with the oppositions it mobilizes, shifts depending upon the viewer interpellated by the work. In doing so *Native Hosts* deploys the dynamics involved in responding to a call, foregrounding the process whereby a subject recognizes him- or herself in relation to place and history.



HACHIVI EDGAR HEAP OF BIRDS *Native Hosts*, 1988– (installation detail at City Hall Park, New York)

As a territory of contestation between the interests of developers and the interests of a city's more marginalized residents, the emblematic locus of the civic park and other public places are occupied in a different way by Nils Norman. Norman's *Tompkins Square Park Monument to Civil Disobedience* (1997) and *Cash Flow* (1999) are detailed architectural models outlining networks of structures, from earthworks to kiosks, from tree houses to anti-eviction towers, that testify to imagined

grassroots occupations of public space.¹¹ Between unbridled utopian speculation and practical research (conducted while the artist worked with New York's Metropolitan Council on Housing) into the development forces that transform neighborhoods, each project includes a swarm of details that refunction existing aspects of public spaces in Manhattan.

Cash Flow shows a cross section of a pier and the land below it on Manhattan's far west side, one of several along a section of waterfront slated for redevelopment by the Hudson River Park Trust, an organization composed of government and business interests.¹² The imagined occupants of the disused pier have erected an anti-eviction tower to secure their claims against those of the developers, while beneath the pier, the river, and the layers of earth, the Holland Tunnel is filled with Critical Mass cyclists clogging the commuter artery.¹³ Accompanying the model is a pair of promotional images produced by the Hudson River Park Trust and reworked by the artist. Revealed in the speech bubbles and the rejected proposed names for the Trust are the shifting private interests that act in the name of the public in a process that historian Rosalyn Deutsche's writings have aligned with the foreclosure of a radically democratic public sphere.¹⁴

The model's utopian element is represented not by a smoothly functioning public space, but in the detailed construal of an imagined community and its struggle against displacement. The point of reference is closer to the seventeenth-century communism associated with Gerrard Winstanley's Diggers and their short-lived, groundbreaking common land movement than to the ideals of twentieth-century modernism.¹⁵ Carrying the idiosyncratic charge in Norman's models

~~BATTERY PARK CITY AUTHORITY~~
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 HUDSON RIVER PARK TRUST



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NILS NORMAN *Cash Flow*, 1999 (detail)

is the way that such unruly structures and improbable actions have been dressed in the clean, polished forms that characterize architectural presentation. The tension embodied in this juxtaposition makes it clear that these proposals exceed the realm of possibility, distinguishing them from the models of activist squatting or urban planning on which they draw. Indeed, these propositions only appear to be addressed to public realization. In grasping this self-contradictory appeal, it is worth considering the recent roster of redevelopment plans for the World Trade Center site, a locus whose emptiness remains central to homeland rhetoric. The design judged most appropriately spectacular has received the official nod, but without the investment that will support 10,000,000 square feet of office space, the project will remain beyond the realm of possibility. Conversely, Norman's models are eminently buildable; they exceed not the domain of capital investment, but the social and civic conditions that might permit their existence. Norman's use of this utopian rubric shifts its hubris: rather than designs promising to liberate the public, these sites have been transformed by collective actions and grassroots initiatives, movements whose desires and programs it falls to us to imagine.

These miniature occupations dramatize a larger rift that cuts through the definition of *homeland* and pertains, at one level or another, to all of these works. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *homeland* as "the land which is one's home, or where one's home is." This subtle shift marks an enormous divergence of meaning. In the first case, *home* describes an inherent bond with the land; in the second, land is simply the place where one has taken up residence. These two incompatible claims—one of essence, the other of contingency—structure the political horizon of many of the conflicts surrounding the term *homeland*. It is precisely this horizon that an articulation like *turf* seeks to address, assimilating *homeland*'s abstraction within the specific individual experience, a process that obscures the ongoing, contested, and uneven interests that operate between these. There remains an important tension in all of these works that resists such foreclosure, between the forms of domination they engage and the idiosyncratic moments at play in their address. This tension undermines the partly assimilated definitions of identity, understandings of place, and historical narratives that lend content to an abstraction like *homeland*. Indeed, the unpredictable concatenations that erupt around their modes of address depend upon the contingency of the different subject positions, knowledges, and place histories each calls into play. As an experience that pries open the relation between assimilated abstractions and the inassimilable particularities of each viewer, it marks a tenuous polarity central to any consideration of homeland's hegemonic appeal.¹⁶ Unearthing the volatile places that *turf* covers over, these works address the predicament that *homeland* currently signals.

1. Mustapha Khayati, "Captive Words (Preface to a Situationist Dictionary)," in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, ed. Tom McDonough (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002), 173.
2. William Safire, "On Language: Homeland," *New York Times*, 20 January 2002, p. 12. Dick Polman, "Is 'Homeland' Un-American?" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 December 2002.
3. Dick Leith and George Myerson, *The Power of Address: Explorations in Rhetoric* (London: Routledge, 1989), 110.
4. "Remarks by Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge to the National Association of Broadcasters Education Foundation 2002 Service to America Summit," The White House, 10 June 2002, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020610-7.html (cit. 2 May 2003).
5. See Richard L. Nostrand and Lawrence E. Estaville, ed., *Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 9–10 for a discussion of how *homeland* is defined by cultural geographers.
6. See artist statement (www.possibleutopia.com/mike) for a description of these widely available clocks, which function alternatively as souvenirs or as tools allowing Islamic travelers to observe the call to prayer in places where it is not a dominant feature of public life.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 15.
9. Paul Bedard, "Fear Factor: Palestine Valentines—or Ambush?" *US News*, 18 February 2002, p. 4. See also Andy Soltis, "W. Banky Panky in Personal Ad Blitz," *New York Post*, 12 February 2002.
10. Telephone conversation with Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, 23 February 2003.
11. One of Norman's sources for the anti-eviction towers featured in *Cash Flow* were photographs of ad hoc structures built by tenants to impede the eviction process.
12. Hudson River Park Trust, www.hudsonriverpark.com (cit. 3 May 2003).
13. Critical-mass.org, www.critical-mass.org (cit. 3 May 2003).
14. Rosalyn Deutsche, "Agoraphobia," in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 269–327.
15. Gerrard Winstanley has been a point of reference in previous works by Norman, such as the *Gerrard Winstanley Radical Gardening Space Reclamation Mobile Field Centre and Weather Station (European Chapter)* (2000). Following the execution of King Charles I, in 1649 the Diggers, led by Gerrard Winstanley, argued that former Crown land could be legitimately claimed by the groups of landless poor who were actively farming it.
16. See Judith Butler, "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality*, ed. Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau, and Slavoj Žižek, (London: Verso, 2000), 11–41 for a discussion of the relationship between the particular and the universal in Hegel. She suggests a partial incompatibility of the particular within hegemonic formations that has been helpful in formulating the dynamics at play in these works.

HOMELAND TIMELINE

- 1670** The *Oxford English Dictionary* initially distinguishes two senses of *homeland*—"the land which is one's home or where one's home is"—before settling on the more general "one's native land."¹
- 1918** British foreign secretary Arthur James Balfour, eager to enlist the support of Jews for the Allies in World War I, in 1917 supports "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." One year later, an uncited writer for the British *Political Science Quarterly* makes the leap to today's word when he notes Balfour's "declaration, in favor of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine."²
- LATE 1920s** Austria and Germany develop province-based militias known as the *Heimwehr* (home guard), or *Heimatschutz* (homeland defense forces).³
- 1934** German chancellor Adolph Hitler creates the national agency The Central Security Office for the Homeland.³
- 1945** Harry Truman, in a July 18 diary entry referring to the Manhattan Project: "Believe Japs will fold up before Russia comes in. I am sure they will when Manhattan appears over their homeland."⁴
- 1948** David Ben-Gurion and his fellow Zionists sign the declaration establishing the state of Israel on May 14, 1948, in which the Hebrew word *moledet*—translated as *homeland*—appears four times.⁵
- 1968** In Article 1 of its national charter, the Palestine Liberation Organization states: "Palestine is the national homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland."⁶

WORKS IN THE EXHIBITION*

*as of May 16, 2003

Dimensions are in inches, followed by centimeters; height precedes width precedes depth.

AYREEN ANASTAS (b. 1968 or 1973)

m of Bethlehem*, 2003

DVD, color, sound; 21 min.

Courtesy the artist

MATTHEW BUCKINGHAM (b. 1963)

The Six Grandfathers, Paha Sapa, in the Year 502,002 C.E., 2002 and 2003

Digital print and transfer type; image, 48 x 34 3/4 (121.9 x 88.3); overall dimensions variable

Collection of the artist, commissioned by *Cabinet*; courtesy Murray Guy Gallery, New York

HANS HAACKE (b. 1936)

Storm, 1991

Shopping cart and mechanized American flags, 34 x 37 1/2 x 20 1/2 (86.4 x 95.3 x 52.1)

Private collection

HACHIVI EDGAR HEAP OF BIRDS (b. 1954)

Native Hosts, 1988–

Enamel on aluminum panels and three framed chromogenic color prints; signs, 18 x 36 (45.7 x 91.4) each; chromogenic color prints, 11 x 14 (27.9 x 35.6) each

Collection of the artist

JONATHAN HOROWITZ (b. 1966)

The People (35 Celebrity Endorsers of George W. Bush Downloaded from the Internet), 2001

Thirty-six framed digital prints, 96 x 81 (243.8 x 205.7) overall

Collection of the artist; courtesy Greene Naftali Gallery, New York

INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED AUTONOMY (founded 1998)

iSee, 2001–

Web project: www.appliedautonomy.com/isee

Courtesy the artists

EMILY JACIR (b. 1970)

Sexy Semite, 2000–02

Ink over newspaper pages with three framed newspaper articles, dimensions variable

Collection of the artist; courtesy Debs and Co., New York

ANNETTE LEMIEUX (b. 1957)

Left Right Left Right, 1995

Thirty photolithographs with maple poles, 108 x 192 x 24 (274.3 x 487.7 x 61)

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; purchase, with funds from the Print Committee 2001.176

ARNOLD MESCHES (b. 1923)

The FBI Files 28, 2002, from the series *The FBI Files*, 2000–02
Synthetic polymer on paper and canvas, 15 x 21 1/4 (38.1 x 54)
Collection of John McCall

The FBI Files 38, 2002, from the series *The FBI Files*, 2000–02
Synthetic polymer on paper and canvas, 12 x 18 (30.5 x 45.7)
Collection of the artist

The FBI Files 41, 2002, from the series *The FBI Files*, 2000–02
Plexiglass and synthetic polymer on paper and canvas, 14 x 22
(35.6 x 55.9)
Collection of the artist

The FBI Files 45, 2002, from the series *The FBI Files*, 2000–02
Synthetic polymer on paper and canvas, 14 x 22 (35.6 x 55.9)
Collection of the artist

NILS NORMAN (b. 1966)

Tompkins Square Park Monument to Civil Disobedience, 1997
Painted wood, plastic, and modeling media on wood pedestal with
framed diagram; model and pedestal, 67 1/2 x 18 x 30 (171.5 x
45.7 x 76.2); diagram, 50 x 30 (127 x 76.2)
Collection of Susan and Michael Hort

Cash Flow, 1999
Painted wood, plastic, and modeling media on wood pedestal with
two framed digital prints; model and pedestal, 85 x 16 x 16 (215.9 x
40.6 x 40.6); digital prints, 8 x 11 (20.3 x 27.9) each
Collection of the artist; courtesy American Fine Arts, New York,
and Galerie Christian Nagel, Berlin

DANIEL PFLUMM (b. 1968)

CNN, Questions and Answers, 1997
Video, color, sound; 33 min.
Courtesy Greene Naftali Gallery, New York

BARBARA POLLACK (b. 1957)

America's Army, 2003
DVD, color, sound; 8 min.
Courtesy the artist and Esso Gallery, New York

MICHAEL RAKOWITZ (b. 1973)

Minaret, 1998–
Performance; represented in exhibition by documentary video,
megaphone, and alarm clock
Collection of the artist

FRANCESCO SIMETI (b. 1968)

Are You Ready?, 2003
Silkscreened wallpaper installation, dimensions variable
Collection of the artist

OLAV WESTPHALEN (b. 1963)

Statue, 2003
Tempera and resin on polystyrene, 72 x 21 x 14 (182.9 x 53.3 x 35.6)
Collection of the artist; courtesy Maccarone, Inc., New York

1969

South African foreign minister R.F. Botha introduces the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill, linking blacks to tribal sites of origin, or "bantustans," seeking thereby to separate the races permanently. The bill is denounced as evidence that white supremacists in South Africa regard black Africans as aliens.¹

1977

As part of the Quadrennial Defense Review mandated by the U.S. Congress, a defense panel is set up to rethink military strategy up to 2020. The panel foresees a need to counter potential terrorism and other "transnational threats to the sovereign territory of the nation." Its recommendation of an "increased emphasis on homeland defense" receives little attention.¹

1997

In its report *Transforming Defense: National Security in the 21st Century*, the National Defense Panel first uses the word *homeland* in its current sense, prefiguring the way the term will be employed by the future Department of Homeland Security.⁴

2000

Washington think tank The Project for the New American Century publishes a policy report entitled *Rebuilding America's Defenses Strategy*. It identifies four essential missions for the twenty-first century, the first being homeland defense.⁵

OCTOBER *The Journal of Homeland Security* is founded.

2001

SEPTEMBER 12 Connecticut democrat senator Joe Lieberman, on *Larry King Live*: "I think yesterday was a turning point in American history, and I think that what it says to us is that we have got to begin to organize, to defend our homeland in a way we never have before."⁶

OCTOBER 8 The Office of Homeland Security and the Homeland Security Council are established by executive order.

2002 NOVEMBER 25 President Bush signs the Homeland Security Act, creating the Department of Homeland Security and uniting under one department the Coast Guard, the Border Patrol, the Customs Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

DECEMBER 16 First "Special Registration" deadline for male nationals from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Sudan to register with the INS. In subsequent deadlines men from Algeria, Bahrain, Eritrea, Lebanon, Morocco, North Korea, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen are also forced to register.

2003 MARCH 1 The INS is renamed the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, a bureau of the Department of Homeland Security.

1. William Safire, "On Language: Homeland," *New York Times*, 20 January 2002, p. 12
2. Dick Polman, "Is 'Homeland' Un-American?," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 December 2002.
3. Thom Hartmann, "When Democracy Failed. The Warnings of History," *Dissident Voice*, 17 March 2003, www.dissidentvoice.org/Articles2/Hartmann_DemocracyFailed.htm (cit. 2 May 2003).
4. "Transforming Defense," Federation of American Scientists, www.fas.org/man/docs/ndp/toc.htm (cit. 2 May 2003).
5. Project for the New American Century, www.newamericancentury.org (cit. 2 May 2003).
6. *The Bulletin's Frontrunner*, 13 Sept 2001

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PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

All photographs courtesy the lender except: Grady Gerbracht: 38; Kyle McCabe: 34; Fred Scruton: 14

COVER: **Emily Jacir**, *Sexy Semite*, 2000–02 (detail)

INSIDE COVER: **Ayreen Anastas**, *Oxford English Dictionary: Word Refugees*, 2003 (detail)

[redacted] home

[redacted] holy day

[redacted] holy

[redacted] Holy Ghost

[redacted] Holy Alliance

[redacted] at home

to home

[redacted] Holy Family

away from

[redacted] home
home from home

[redacted] to home

[redacted] Holy Land

[redacted] holy place

<p>IL PRINCESS gent & extremely for mutually fun relationship. 94</p> <p>of SBF 33, ter- M of like mind, slim to athletic prof communica- ted in frnd'shp, free 9638.</p> <p>ERED BEAUTY sks mature, le for mutual arrangement. 9923</p> <p>GUY? e, 33 enjoys & nature. e minded 9618</p> <p>LESTINIAN to settle down w/ any race to show you the rt. U won't be 54</p> <p>OMANCE 37, mid 30's a very success- 50+ gentleman y enjoy & share life. 9595</p> <p>Female 49, ad- eorth, spiritual irit far fun & od- ation p. 48-60. oking man, who 9960</p> <p>N...to seduce a wer her w/gifts, umor, keep your feel appreciat- s sought by this sired. 9731</p> <p>. Fair, Nature, ock, Paganism/ Humor? Me too. te, 40's F, artist/ aired, sober, em- or LTR 9660</p> <p>full-figured ous submissive ne & control, far neficial encoun-</p>	<p>stancie own v. gals, harmless ones eorth/wtr sign, hos had therapy, to be my beloved M... 9923</p> <p>EXOTIC PALESTINIAN SEMITE Sensuous love goddess w/long re hair & green eyes, originally from Qataman skg Jewish M for LTR. Bring me back to my home land. 9664</p> <p>Exotic Jewish Palestinian wishes to celebrate Eid and Hanukah next year in Israel. Seeking non-smoking Jewish male to lost ond light the menorah together! 9616</p> <p>FOR HAPPY MARRIAGE Pretty Chinese Lady, slim, 5'10, likes music, art, reading & nature, treasure family. Sks SWM, over 6'3, 44-63, financ secure, well-educ who wants to get married. Na smkg. 9802</p> <p>FOREVER YOUNG Pretty, petite widowed WF, 63, blonde/teen. Likes music, movies, drives, shows. Seeking stable, kind, sincere WM, 63-75, for friendship, possibly more. 9656</p> <p>FRENCH LADY, ATTRACTIVE, SENSITIVE, LATE 40S. SEEKS FOR ONE HANDSOME, HONEST MAN TO SHARE LIFE TOGETHER FOR A SERIOUS RELATIONSHIP. 9597</p> <p>FULL FIGURED BLACK BEAUTY ISO A GENEROUS GENTLEMAN 40 & UP TO SERVICE HOWEVER YOU LIKE IT. SATISFACTION GAURANTEED. D/D Free. RACE UNIMPT. 9913</p> <p>GERMAN BLONDE BEAUTY Tall, elegant, green eyed, blonde 32 ISO a discreet mutually beneficial relationship with an affluent gentleman. 9541</p> <p>GIRL IN WINTER SWF, 30's, 5'5, dork blonde, pale green eyes, beautiful, athletic, curvaceous, feminine yet likes to get her hands dirty, sweet yet strong willed, sensitive, intelligent, very complex, sensual & playful, under- standing but hard to understand. Desires very good looking toll WM, 30's, with a strong sensitive side & o sense of humor, who likes to play, to get to know slowly. 9850</p>	<p>For friendship. Looking for monogam for a possible LT managamous rela- tionship. D/D free. 9881</p> <p>Looking for "The Risk". tall, shaggy, floppy, who wears cowboy shirts and likes to make out in seedy bars. Rack n' Roll, I've already found him... 9887</p> <p>LOVE & DESIRE-Very attrac SF, Ital sexy, full fig, educ, street smart lives to live life. Seeks SM, mentally & physically strong, attr, stable & intel for frndshp & poss LTR. 9516</p> <p>Luscious, Intelligent.... Black & beautiful F desires LTR w/well dressed, mature, educated WM, who loves cater to & pompering ME! 9694</p> <p>MORE THAN NICE LEGS SWF young 50's, 5'8", shapely, sen- suous, slim/pretty/witty/wise/warm writer sks funny/toll/open/smart SM 47-59, NS, into arts, nature, LTR & dancing in museums. 9653</p> <p>Palenstinain Female 27 shapely semite. 5'9", 140 lbs, dark eyes. Looking for gorgeous Jewish mon who enjoys restaurants and travel to Israel. 9793</p> <p>Petite, playful Palestinian F seeks fel- low semite Jewish M to salsa our way into Israel, already have house and lands. Love art, indy films, dance & hikes. Waiting 4 U 9565</p> <p>PLEASANT PERSON Single black F, 38, full figured, seeks single white M who have the soy in- terest sports, movies, reading & has a good sense of humor. 9876</p> <p>PRETTY COMPANY PRESIDENT Outgoing slim farmer actress DJF, happy lover of the arts & outdoors. Seeks accomplished cultured M 55+ with sense of humor to share life. 9878</p> <p>Pretty Palestinian seeks similarly sexy Semite (Jewish make to any race) for quiet dinners, long walks and Return to Israel. 9579</p>	<p>For: 3'10-4", kind, amine, enjoys career, humor, 38-48. 9946</p> <p>Romantic Collaboration. Petite redhead, Passionate, prof'l concert Pianist/Jazz Singer: warm, real, humorous sks SWM 48-60 Ardent supportive music lover as Best Buddy/Sweetheart. 9886</p> <p>ROME! ROME! Jus Kiddin' B Nice, B Handsome, B Fit, B Mine. SBF, pretty, smart spunky, sks SWPM 35-45. 6' plus. Yours, Juliette 9560.</p> <p>RUSSIAN LADY SWF, 46, 5'6, slim, beautiful figure, long blonde hair, freckles, attrac, af- fectionate, N/S. Seeking SW widowed mon, age 48-65, N/S, financially secure, kind & caring. 9623</p> <p>SBF ISO SBM for friendship w/passible LTR I am 29, very attractive with brains employed w/home & car. U B similar 30ish-40ish. 9761</p> <p>SBF SEEKING WWM Exotic model and dancer, sexy BF seeks healthy WM. 27yrs+, attrac & very generous. Very discreet. Let's have fun together 9942</p> <p>SBF, very attractive, 5'5, no children, never married looking to meet a PROFESSIONAL, DOWN TO EARTH SINGLE ATTRACTIVE MAN over 5'10 for dining, traveling, theatre, etc. D & D free. 9523</p> <p>SEEKING MISTER RIGHT SBF, 30, 5'1", full-figured ISO a SB or Hisp. M, 29-40, who would love to get to know this lovely woman. For friendship & possible LTR. 9520</p> <p>SEEKING SINGLE GUY FOR CITY FUN IN PARKS, MUSEUMS, GALLERIES. Walks, Lincoln Center, dance clubs to never neding nights with a sexy 47 yr young petite pretty brunette. 9736</p> <p>Seeking SWM, 36-45 only Manhattanite, attentive, romantic, creative, passionate, warm, educated, friend, lover for commitment. Absolutely happens. 9942</p>	<p>writer & return to ancestral home for warm Palestinian-Jewish Valentine Day in Galilee. 9795</p> <p>Sexy English Black F Home attendant seeks White gentleman for 9856</p> <p>SHALOM BABY! Cute Palestinian Semite gal. Hoping to find my perfect Israeli mon. Let's stroll the beaches of Akko & live and love in Jerusalem. Na Faties. 9562</p> <p>Shalom Baby! Cute Palestinian Semite gal Hoping to find my perfect Israeli man Let's stroll the beaches of Akko & live and love in Jerusalem. Na Faties. 9562</p> <p>SHE'S THE ONE Intelligent, sexy, 5'4, 115 lbs, creative, brunette, Ivy in the arts, seeks smart, weight-lifting, 5'11+, successful, muscular guy 36-46, far coring, love & loughier. 9739</p> <p>Short strawberry blonde long long long hair 105lbs grn eyes physically fit lking for financially secure emotion- ally secure to spoil me. If you like hi heels & leopard, coll me. 9851</p> <p>SOMEONE SPECIAL Pretty Chinese lady, 40, M.A. teacher w/brains, looks & elegance, beautiful smile & high E.Q. sks nansmkg American prof'l gentleman 40-50 ya. 9677</p> <p>STUNNING BLOND 28Yrs SWF, brown eyes, seeks prof'l, finan- cially stable SM. I'm SICK of all the LOSERS. I'm nat o pro. Far mutually beneficial relationship. 9713</p> <p>SUN+RAIN-Sgle F NS artist silly when nat moody sks reason to smile. UR SM tall, 25-45 bayish sharp mind 4 fun. Int'l trav, music, bars, books, sandalwd. Giv+take. How about U? 9782</p> <p>SWF 45, green eyes, red hair, 105lbs, wears high heels & short skirts looking for financially secure M, 48-58, kind, sincere, handsome, someone to spoil me like I would spoil you. 9815</p>
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W H I T N E Y

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